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HISTORY OF THE CITY OF ROME
IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

VOL. VI.—PART I.

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HISTORY

OF

THE CITY OF ROME

IN THE

MIDDLE AGES

BY

FERDINAND GREGOROVIUS

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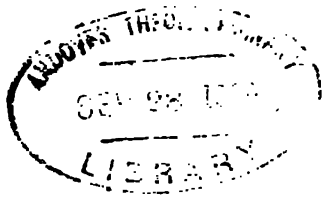
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BOOK ELEVENTH.

HISTORY OF
THE CITY OF ROME IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY
FROM 1305 UNTIL 1354.

HISTORY OF THE CITY OF ROME IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

CHAPTER I.

1. THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY—DECADENCE OF THE PAPACY — GUELFS AND GHIBELLINES — THE NEW CLASSIC CULTURE—FLORENCE AND ROME—ROME AFTER 1305—THE COUNCIL OF THE THIRTEEN—CLEMENT V. RECEIVES THE CIVIC POWER—AVIGNON —BURNING OF THE LATERAN BASILICA—DESERTION OF ROME—THE POPE TRANSFERS THE ELECTION OF HIS REGENTS TO THE PEOPLE—MURDER OF ALBERT —HENRY OF LUXEMBURG, KING OF THE ROMANS— ITALY INVITES HIM TO ROME—ROBERT OF NAPLES —DANTE AND THE EMPIRE—HIS TREATISE *DE MONARCHIA*—THE GHIBELLINE IDEAL OF EMPIRE.

THE history of the fourteenth century describes the decay of the feudal and hierarchical institutions of the Middle Ages. These two universal forms, the Church and the Empire—creations of the Latin idea of human society as a universal monarchy—now appear in entirely altered relations, languishing and threatened with ruin. The ancient German-Roman

empire had already perished with the Hohenstaufens, had fallen into vassalage to the Church, and had been banished from Italy. But scarcely had this occurred, when the ancient hierarchical Church suffered a like fate. The popes forsook Italy in the beginning of the fourteenth century. Frenchmen as they were, they entered the service of France and were robbed of their universal dominion.

The exile to Avignon was followed first by the schism, then by a general Council, lastly by the Reformation.

When the gigantic struggle of the Middle Ages between the spiritual and secular powers was fought out, no mission of universal importance to the European world remained to the popes. The absolute dominion which they had acquired in the thirteenth century, they turned with suicidal policy against themselves and the Church. They corrupted the Church by countless abuses. Even in their impotence at Avignon under the protection of France, the popes, who acquired their great international position solely through opposition to the empire, again evoked the ancient war. But their challenge was answered by the reforming spirit of the West. Bold thinkers now disputed not only, like the Hohenstaufens, the secular, but also the spiritual jurisdiction of the pope. Heresy appeared in the evangelical forms of Wycliffe and Huss. Faith was severed from knowledge. It seemed as though the nations, matured by the indefatigable work of thought, would fall from the decayed framework of the Catholic Church, even as they had burst the bonds

of the Catholic empire. The doctrines of the Ghibellines revived in their philosophic view of the world the idea of the empire and of the Imperial Monarchy. Germany pronounced its empire independent of the Roman Papacy, and the genius of Germany gave indications of its approaching severance from Rome in State and Church.

In the fourteenth century the Ghibelline idea, feudal and imperialist, purified from its origin and given philosophic form, triumphed over the Guelf, in so far as the Guelf principle, identified with Latin citizenship, was at the same time the principle of the Roman Church. The Guelfs had fought for civic and national freedom in the first place, for the Catholic Church in the second, and had prevented the union of the spiritual and temporal power in the emperor. The Ghibellines now disputed the union of the two powers in the pope. After Dante their political philosophy acquired the power of critical science. Like an increasing torrent the Ghibelline spirit flowed onward with growing strength and ended in the German Reformation, while the Guelf, limited more and more by local conditions, receded into Catholicism.

The struggle of the two parties filled the history of Italy for a considerable space, but in such distorted form that its moral value is no longer recognisable. The mother-country of western culture seemed in momentary danger of becoming extinct, like Hellas or Byzantium. The great institutions of the Middle Ages had arisen upon her soil. But what object now remained for the Italians when the

ancient Church and the ancient empire fell to decay and when popes and emperors forsook the country? Nothing, it appeared, but the war of destruction of the two factions, the remains of the Church and empire. Without national constitution, a tumultuous chaos of struggling cities and tyrants, nobles and people, the dismembered land beheld the fall of the mediaeval system with the same dismay as she had witnessed the fall of the first empire, and now as then foresaw the rule of the foreigner as the inevitable consequence. Italy, the utterly exhausted field of the struggle between Church and empire, invoked in her abandonment the return of emperor and pope to restore peace and heal the wounds that had been inflicted upon her by party hatred. Neither pope nor emperor found the necessary balsams; but the genius of the Italians discovered the means of reconciling the combatants through a higher intellectual medium. In the renascence of classic culture, the factions of Guelf and Ghibelline, of Church and State, were merged as distinctions unimportant to the world at large.

The revival of the ancient culture was the greatest national work of the Italians. It saved them from the fate of Greece, and for the third time gave them intellectual supremacy over Europe. But to their misfortune, they were unable, along with the literary and artistic revival, to create a national constitution, and consequently for the second time Italy failed to escape foreign rule.

The new classic culture made its seat in Florence, the first modern state, and from the fourteenth



century onwards the true representative of the Italian national spirit. Florence took the place of Milan, the city of foremost national rank in the twelfth century, and of Bologna, the seat of Italian learning in the thirteenth. It even cast Rome into the shade. In the fourteenth century Rome was scarcely more than an honoured name and title, a document smothered in dust, on which was inscribed claims to universal supremacy. The tragic abandonment of the city during the Avignonese period made her once more the object of the piety of mankind, and her sufferings were so great as almost to have become mythical to the imagination of later generations. The capital of the Christian world, from which the cosmopolitan ideas of the Church and the empire and the entire culture of the West had disappeared, saw herself in danger of sinking into oblivion like a temple from which the service of the gods and the priesthood had vanished. It was actually during the period of the exile in Avignon that, we may say in her despair, the forsaken city demanded the return of her eternal and universal importance, and rose to the conception of the boldest claims which she ever cherished during the Middle Ages. From the Capitol she desired to revive the ancient ideal of empire, to unite nations once again in a universal monarchy, and at the same time to give a political and national constitution to divided Italy. The idea was neither Ghibelline nor Guelf; it was the Roman municipal idea. We shall see how this classic dream rose from the ruins of the city and then sank back into them for ever.

But one success the Romans achieved during the absence of their popes; they acquired a more independent form of municipal government and upheld their democratic state. As in Florence and the greater number of Italian free cities, so in Rome also the power of the old aristocracy was broken; the nobles were excluded from the republic, and consequently the burgher class with its guilds reigned supreme. Nevertheless the fall of the aristocracy entailed a severe loss in military power, and in the arts of statecraft and agriculture upon the cities. The liberties of the burgher class soon perished under the power of the demagogue. Tyrants became hereditary princes; and the universal decay of feudal institutions contributed to render Italy so defenceless, that the country suffered a second invasion of barbarians, in the form of homeless errant soldiery, such as it had witnessed in the collapse of the ancient Roman empire. Florence, powerful by the industry of her citizens, by her intellectual life, and above all endowed with political genius, was long able to preserve her liberty before the appearance of her princely inheritor. But for Rome this heir had been ready for centuries. He reaped the fruits of the destruction of the noble families. When the pope returned from Avignon, he found the democratic state of the popular tribune, of the Thirteen, and the Gonfalonieri exhausted and dying. And when the Roman Martin V., having quelled the schism, returned to Rome and permanently re-established the sacred chair, he found the city, but lately the prey of bold leaders of mercenaries, ripe

for papal rule. The classic dreams of the sovereign majesty of the Roman people and Senate made way for the practical necessity of order and general prosperity, and after some spasmodic protests and reminiscences, the municipal independence of the Capitol yielded to the commands of its papal masters.

The long vacancy of the sacred chair which occurred on the death of Benedict XI., the impotence of the city, and lastly the removal of the Papacy, had plunged Rome into utter anarchy. The four chief families fought for supreme power, while the Campagna was filled with the vindictive warfare waged by the Gaetani. In order to protect themselves from noble tyrants, the citizens appointed a popular government of thirteen men, making the Bolognese John de Ygnano captain.[1] At the same time Paganino, a member of the ruling Guelf house of the Torri at Milan, was elected Senator. In company with the popular council of the Anziani and the captain he governed Rome for a whole year.[2]

Paganino della Torre, Senator, 1305.

[1] He ratified the Statutes of the Merchants on March 15, *Ind. III.*, as *m. vir. Johes de Ygiano dei gra. sacri Rom. Pop. Capitaneus et XIII. Anziani, unus vid. per quamlib. region. Urbis, una cum ipso D. Capit. ad regim. urbis et reformation. rcip. Romanor.* (Vendettini, *Serie Cronol.*). The official register of the Capitol wrongly gives *Johes de Magnano alias Ugiano.* The *Cron. di Bologna* (Mur., xviii. 306) writes *J. de Lignano. Joh. de Ignano* appears as *Capitano del popolo* of Ancona on November 10, 1302. *Commemoriali della Rep. di Venezia*, tom. i. (1876) lib. i. n. 99.

[2] Corio, ii. 378, says that the Roman envoys came to Milan in February. Turiozzi, *Mem. di Tuscania*, shows Paganino as Senator on June 18, 1305. He ratifies the Statute of the Merchants on March 21, 1306. On September 25, 1305, he accords the *reaffidatio* to Corneto (*Margarita Cornetana*).

But the civic nobility were soon enabled to regain possession of the Senate. For scarcely had Clement V. become Pope when, at King Philip's command, on February 2, 1306, he reinstated the Colonna in all their former rights. He restored the purple to both cardinals and allowed Stephen to rebuild the ruined Palestrina.[1] The Gaetani and all other adherents of Boniface VIII. were thus driven from Rome, while the Colonna waxed more than ever powerful. They made a temporary reconciliation with the Orsini, and the two noble houses jointly occupied the Senate.[2]

Clement V. now without difficulty obtained from the Senate the right enjoyed by his predecessors, viz., the senatorial authority for life, with the additional privilege of allowing himself to be represented by deputy. The Capitoline republic thus returned to its former system.[3] The transference

[1] Lyons, February 2, 1306 (Petrini, *Mon.*, 33). We still read on the *Rocca:* MAGNIFICVS. D. STEFAN. DE. COLUMNA. REEDIFICAVIT. CIVITATEM. PRENESTE. CV. MONTE. ET. ARCE. A. MCCCXXXII. Clement annulled all the proceedings taken against the men who had ill-treated Boniface VIII. (April 20, 1312, Theiner, *Cod. Dipl.*, i. n. 624). He commanded that peace should be made between the Gaetani and the enemies of Boniface (n. 625).

[2] In the latter half of 1306 Gentile Orsini and Stephen Colonna were Senators. They ratified the Statute of the Merchants on July 23, 1306.

[3] Clement made Peter Savelli and John Stefani Normanni Senators on March 9, 1307 (Theiner, n. 588). According to the statute no Trasteverine could be Senator: this provision was, however, revoked by Clement V. in favour of John Normanni (n. 589). Senators, from November 1, 1307, *Ricard. Theballi de Anniballis* and *Joh. de Columpna dns. Genazzani*, confirm the Statute of the Merchants, February 19, 1308. On January 27, 1308, they declare hostilities

of the civic authority in this form to the popes was advantageous to Rome, since the system placed some check on the nobility, reduced the danger of a tyranny, and created at least a permanent principle making for civic order. The political condition of Rome in the Middle Ages, when the commune formed an independent republic which excluded the priesthood from offices of State, but gave personal supremacy to each pope, was the most intelligible and also—for the Roman people—the worthiest solution of the abiding contest between the secular and the spiritual law. This system of government, which had been introduced by Nicholas III. after the year 1278, long endured, until, to the misfortune of the city, it expired with the independent republic.

The Romans still hoped to see their pope and bishop reappear in his lawful abode, the Lateran. No one as yet seriously believed in the long duration of the papal exile. But the Gascon Clement V., the slave of France, never appeared in Rome. The King constantly threatened him with the prosecution of the trial against Boniface VIII., and in order to save the Papacy from this humiliation, Clement

against Aspra (Archives of Aspra); on April 9, against Corneto; they are still in office on September 16, 1308 (Vendettini). In the first half of 1309: *Stephanus de Comite* and *Ursus de filiis Francisci Ursini* (Wüstenfeld, n. 51), A. 1309: *Joh. Petri Stephani* of Trastevere, and *Theob. de S. Eustachio*, from June onwards (Brief, Avign., June 27, 1309). They renew relations with Corneto on September 13 (*Marg. Cornetana*), A.D. 1310: *Forte Braccio Orsini* and *Giov. di Riccardo* of the Anibaldi; appointed by the Pope, but deposed by him. Letter to the Roman people, Avignon, March 14, 1310. Theiner, n. 602.

Mother Church of Christendom seemed, as in the time of Stephen VI., to forbode a terrible judgment. Processions bewailing the event made their way through the dismayed city; weapons rested, enemies became reconciled; men hastened in pious zeal to remove the ruins and contribute money. The Pope appointed a congregation of cardinals to provide for the restoration of the church. The work was prosecuted with energy, but was only completed under his successor.

The excitement of the moment past, superstitious dread of the threats of heaven never leaves any moral trace. The Romans soon forgot their pious vows; Colonna and Orsini continued in deadly enmity their ancestral wars. The absence of the Pope left the nobility more unbridled than ever; these hereditary houses now regarded themselves as masters of Rome, left without her master. Their mercenaries encamped on every road; travellers and pilgrims were robbed; places of worship remained empty. The entire circumstances of the city were reduced to a meaner level. No prince, nobleman, or envoy of a foreign power any longer made his appearance. Seldom did a cardinal arrive as temporary legate, happy to escape as soon as possible from the sinister city. Vicars replaced the cardinals absent from their titular churches, while the Pope himself was represented in the Vatican, as by a shadow, by some bishop of the neighbourhood—Nepi, Viterbo, or Orvieto.

Clement V., implored by his representative in spiritual affairs to relieve the distress in Rome, sent

a Minorite brother as peacemaker in January 1310.[1] The monk found the Senators Fortebraccio Orsini and John Anibaldi utterly unequal to their task, and the popular Council of the Thirteen at strife both with them and the nobility. These Anziani, the elected representatives of the regions, maintained a democratic commonweal (*Populus*) beside the aristocracy, and this rested essentially on the guilds with their consuls, principally on those of the Agriculturists and Merchants. The representatives of the citizens now requested the Pope to restore peace to the city by means of an energetic and concentrated government. Clement, unacquainted with the conditions of Rome, left the choice of their government for an entire year to the citizens. He removed the Senators from office; concerning the nobility and their privileges he vouchsafed not a single word. The right of the Roman people to self-government was consequently recognised by the first Avignonese pope. The French popes in the main favoured the democracy in Rome. They were foreign to, and distant from, the city, which gradually lost importance in their eyes. They had no ties with the Roman feudal families; on the contrary, they strove to keep the nobility, who had hitherto been influential in the Curia, as far off as possible. They filled the Cardinals' College with Frenchmen. We shall soon see the use that the Romans made of the elective right which Clement V. had accorded them.[2]

[1] Wadding, *Annal. Minor.*, vi., ad A. 1310, n. 10, cites the letter to the legates, *Avignon, XVIII. Kal. Febr. a. V.*

[2] Letter, *Aven. II. Id. Martii a. V.* (Theiner, n. 602): *Con-*

Meanwhile the change on the throne in Germany had given rise to important events. After the death of Albert of Habsburg at the hands of his own nephew, Philip le Bel endeavoured to acquire the empire for his ambitious and powerful family, and to seat, if not himself, at least his brother Charles of Valois, on the imperial throne. The King held negotiations with the Pope in Poictiers. The transference of the imperial authority to the dynasty of France, within the confines of whose kingdom the Papacy had already been forced to take up its abode, would have made Philip ruler of Europe, and this Clement dared not allow. He strove to circumvent these designs, and sincerely rejoiced when the German electors shattered the schemes of France. The electors decided in favour of Henry of Luxemburg, a noble but powerless man, on whom the alliances of his house, education, and even ties of knightly vassalage to King Philip, had imprinted a half French character. The Count was elected in Frankfort in November 1308, was crowned at Aachen on January 6, 1309, and as Henry VII. ascended the German throne, which he mainly owed to the exertions of his brother Baldwin, Archbishop of Tréves.

Murder of King Albert, May 1, 1308.

Henry VII., King of the Romans, Jan. 6, 1309.

Without difficulty Henry obtained recognition from the Pope, to whom, following the example of the Habsburgs, he at once conceded the right of ratification. He sent envoys from Constance to

sulibus Bovacteriorum et Mercatorum, Collegio Judicum et Notariorum, Consulibus artium, tredecim bonis viris electis per singulas Regiones, et Populo Urbis. The elective right of the people was to date from May 1310. The Constitution of Nicholas III. was abolished.

Avignon, who were actually to lay before Clement the decree of election, swear, in the King's name, devotion to the Church, promise assistance in the Crusade planned by Clement, and beg for the imperial coronation. On July 26 the Pope, with the condescension of a gracious ruler, recognised Henry's election as King of the Romans. He agreed to the imperial coronation, but explained that, owing to the intended Council, he could not yet perform the ceremony, and proposed a delay of two years, dating from February 2, 1309.[1] The claims of Innocent III., Gregory IV., and Innocent IV. were thus recognised as rights without opposition by the empire; no German elector and no German king appeared any longer to doubt the pope's authority to examine and confirm the person of the emperor-elect; in short, to bestow the imperial crown as a fief of the Church.

Henry held a Diet of the court at Speyer. It was here determined that the journey to Rome should be made in the autumn of 1310. Haste such as this formed a contrast to the indifference shown by Rudolf and Albert towards the imperial crown, which had not adorned the head of any ruler since Frederick II. Henry VII., however, possessed no hereditary power, consequently neither prestige nor influence in Germany, where, on the contrary, he

[1] Henry's letter, *Cupientes ferventi desiderio*, Constance, June 2, *Mon. Germ.*, iv. 492. The *Sacramentum Regis* according to the ancient formula. Brief, Avignon, July 26, 1309 . . . *examinatione quoque de persona tua—per nos facta, in quant. te absente fieri potuit —te—in Regem electum deputamus—tuamque personam—declaramus plene sufficientem et habilem ad suscipiendum hujusmodi imperialis celsitudinis dignitatem. Ibid.*, p. 495.

foresaw difficulties with Habsburg-Austria, with Bohemia and Bavaria. He imagined that the imperial crown would invest him with glory and power; he hoped to reunite Italy with Germany and restore the ancient empire of the Hohenstaufens. The ideal of the ancient Roman world-monarchy awoke again in the enthusiastic brain of a German king, who had not been taught by history that the attempt to restore the ancient empire, or even the political and feudal alliance of the two countries, could ever again have any practical success. Nevertheless, it was Italy herself that gave inspiration and aim to Henry's ideas. The Ghibellines of Italy urgently summoned him, and the most distinguished Italians met him with an enthusiasm for the imperial monarchy which would have deluded the most prudent of statesmen.

In the beginning of the fourteenth century the condition of Italy had become unendurable to the Italians. The cities from the Alps to the Neapolitan frontier were torn asunder between Guelfs and Ghibellines. Everywhere anarchy, civil war, and exile prevailed; the independent republics were in constant revolt, involved in perpetual party feuds, or at war with cities and dynasties; the ancient federations of cities were dissolved; only isolated and temporary alliances took their place; the feudal lords of the previous centuries ruled as tyrants over the cities, purchasing the title of vicar sometimes from the pope, sometimes from the empire. The country, in short, presented a medley of national forces, which to depict is a task beyond the power of the historian.

Visconti and Torri, Scala and Este, the Polentani, the Scotti, Montefeltre, Torrelli, the Manfredi, Malaspina, Guidoni, the Carrara, the Ordelaffi, Cavalcabò, the lords of Savoy, of Saluzzo and Montferrat, the Orsini and Colonna, and a hundred other nobles stood in arms, each following the dictates of ambition or intriguing force. Over this political chaos hovered the two ancient demons of the Guelf and Ghibelline parties. Advantage, or hereditary right, or the accident of the moment determined the choice of the party watchword, and it frequently happened that the name of the faction itself was based on no political principle. The programme of the Ghibelline statesmen at this time, however, was the simpler and more clearly marked; their party, which owed its origin to the feudalism of the empire, strove to restore order in Italy under the authority of the legitimate emperor of German nationality. The Ghibelline idea was that of historic right. On the other hand, the idea of national independence cherished by the Guelfs was not set forth in any political system; the Catholic idea of a universal Italian confederation under the supremacy of the pope remained unexpressed, and beyond antagonism to German influence, their efforts had no common political aim. At the same time, the Pope, their natural head, was far from Italy. His removal to France, to which the Guelfs had leaned ever since the fall of the Hohenstaufens, made the ties with France the more lasting; nevertheless, they found their most powerful protector in Italy and in the King of Naples, in whose town of Avignon the

Pope dwelt. The alliance with France, the absence of the Papacy, the impotence of the empire, and the confusion which prevailed among the factions in Italy must have encouraged the designs for the extension of power in the peninsula cherished by the prince who occupied the Neapolitan throne.

Charles II. of Naples had died on May 5, 1309, and Robert, his second son, obtained the crown, setting aside the claims of Charles Robert of Hungary, son of Charles Martel, eldest son of Charles II. The Pope, whose favour he had acquired at Avignon, bestowed the investiture on Robert in August 1309. Clement thus secured his adherence, and the Pope, recognising in the King a desired support of the Church in Italy, entrusted him with the defence of his temporal rights in the peninsula, and Robert remained the most grateful ally and most faithful advocate of the sacred chair. On his arrival in Italy from Avignon in the beginning of the year 1310, the Guelfs regarded him as a friend and protector; a fact which furnished additional grounds to the Ghibellines, who were without a leader, for desiring Henry's journey to Italy. The most illustrious men of their party cherished the ardent hope of a political Messiah, and to this hope Dante gave expression in the mysterious form of the *Veltro*. The poet, wandering in exile, was the prophet of the Ghibelline ideal. His appeals, and even many passages of his poem, are valuable as political documents concerning the spirit of this memorable time. In contradiction to the history of the expeditions to Rome, which the Italians had execrated for cen-

Robert, King of Naples, 1309.

Dante and the ideal of empire.

turies as incursions of the barbarians, Dante saw in the lawful kings of the Romans of German race the God-given saviours of Italy, whose sacred duty it was to restore the empire south of the Alps. Nothing more clearly shows the profound despair of the dismembered country than the fact, that its noblest citizens desired the return of the German emperor with a military force. The Italians censured the desire as the exaggeration of Ghibelline party passion. The poet-philosopher Dante, however, dreamed of a universal ideal, to which no party aims could reach, and to which the ancestry of the emperor was a matter of indifference. He was deluded by the Habsburgs, who never left Germany; he addressed angry reproaches to the shade of Rudolf, who had been oblivious of his duty, and to Dante Albert's murder seemed the judgment of heaven which admonished his successor to fulfil the neglected obligation. The poet's lines in the celebrated passage of the *Purgatorio* which describes the meeting between Virgil and Sordello—dithyrambs of patriotic sorrow rivalling the prophetic sublimity of an Isaiah—retained their force for all succeeding centuries, written, as it were, over Italy in characters of fire. He summons Henry to orphaned Rome:—

"Come and behold thy Rome, who calls on thee,
Desolate widow, day and night with moans,
'My Caesar, why dost thou desert my side?'"[1]
—Cary's Translation.

[1] *Vieni a veder la tua Roma, che piagne*
Vedova, sola, e di e notte chiama:
Cesare mio, perchè non m'accompagne.
—*Purgatorio*, vi.

The contemplation of centuries had made the ideal of the Roman empire a dogma, for which the unity of the ecclesiastical constitution offered the strongest basis. To the imagination of mankind empire and Church appeared as two distinct but inter-dependent forms, within which the Christian world, as a whole, was comprised. The idea of the empire consequently survived the fall of the Hohenstaufens and the long period when no German emperor was any longer seen. Neither the bitter struggle between empire and priesthood, nor the ever-growing national impulse among peoples gradually becoming independent, was able to extinguish this Roman universal ideal, which may justly be called the ideal of Christian antiquity. It was less on the convictions of the politician than on those of the philosopher that Dante based his hopes of the restoration to his country of unity, peace, and the glory of past times, through the greatness of the emperor. Nevertheless, this universal monarch, even when created and crowned, was inferior in power to any king, and could scarcely prove formidable to a tyrant of North Italy. Dante's book, *De Monarchia*, the first political writing of importance since Plato, Aristotle, and Cicero, was not originally called forth by the journey of the Luxemburg prince, but, whenever written, it expresses those Ghibelline teachings which accorded such an enthusiastic welcome to Henry VII. in Italy.

Dante's *De Monarchia.*

Dante's work cannot be called the programme of a party, since it could only have been intelligible to highly cultivated intellects. Neither is it the work

of a statesman, but of a philosophical thinker, steeped in the abstractions of the school, and not constructing his system from given conditions, but basing it on dogmatic hypotheses, and explaining it from general conceptions. Dante does not treat of the State but of the ideal of the universal republic. With scholastic method he develops three principles: that the universal monarchy—that is to say, the empire — is necessary to the well-being of human society; that the monarchical power—the one indivisible imperium—legally belongs to the Roman people, and through them to the emperor; lastly, that the authority of the emperor is derived immediately from God, and not, according to the opinion of the priests, from the pope, the Vicar of Christ or God. This thoughtful work is the genuine expression of the convictions of the Middle Ages, and only as such is it intelligible to us. It rests especially on the dogma of the unbroken continuity of the imperium. It is only relatively speaking that we can say that Dante demanded the restoration of the empire, since, according to his theory, the extinction of the empire was as utterly inconceivable as the extinction of human society. Whether the name of the emperor was Augustus, Trajan, or Constantine, whether Charles, Frederick, or Henry, whether he was of German or of Latin race, affected neither the character nor the lastingness of the Roman monarchy, which, older than the Church, had gathered the Church within its fold.[1]

[1] The universal monarchy is derived from the principle of unity. The weakest part of this magnificent Utopia is the second. The

The oneness of the universe was also the fixed principle for the political world of the Ghibellines. For them the only conceivable best system of the world was the rule of a sole emperor, and this view was supported not only by the historic facts of the Roman empire, but also by the Christian idea. If the Church, the State of God, was one alone, must not the empire, its civic form, be one also? If there were only one shepherd and one flock, then must not the emperor be the universal shepherd of nations in secular affairs as the pope was in spiritual? Christ Himself, who rejected all temporal jurisdiction, had been subject to the civil law, and had said, "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's"; thereby declaring that the emperor was the universal head and lawgiver on earth.

The monarchy or imperial power, therefore, became glorified and idealised by the Ghibellines in proportion as the Papacy had encroached on the domain of civil law, and, owing to its secularisation, had sacrificed its priestly character. In their conflict with the emperors the popes had tried as far as possible to humble the conception of imperial majesty; they had finally attributed the origin of the empire solely to human weakness or to brute force, limited its province only to material and transient things, and regarded as its highest aim

third, in which the doctrine of the priests is excellently refuted, is good. Dante may have been provoked into writing his book by the decrees of Boniface VIII. Witte dates its appearance before the bull *Unam Sanctam*, Balbo not until the year 1314. In like manner, although not so strongly, Dante speaks of the necessity of the monarchy in the *Convito Tract.*, iv. c. 4, 5.

only the subservient one of preserving the liberties, rights, and possessions of the Church, and of maintaining her orthodoxy by purging her from heresy. The Ghibellines warmly disputed this theory; they asserted that the empire was a divine institution, and was synonymous with the highest temporal good, with freedom, justice, and peace, that is to say, with human civilisation. The danger that the emperors might usurp the spiritual power had been averted by the energy and genius of the popes; men, however, feared another bondage, for the Church threatened to seize the empire, the pope the temporal power. It was the watchful Ghibellines who warned Europe of the danger, and Dante's *De Monarchia* was the tocsin sounded in the time of greatest peril. Therein the imperial power opposed the papal, as equally unlimited in secular things, and with equal exaggeration. Dante, in fact, professed imperialist theories no less absolute than those of the Justinianist jurisconsults of the Hohenstaufens. He maintained with philosophic earnestness that all princes, peoples, and countries, that land and sea were the lawful property of the single Caesar, indeed that every living being was subject to the Roman emperor.[1] The Ghibelline

[1] Henry VII.'s edict, *de Crimine laes. Majest.*, says: *ad reprimenda multor. facinora, qui ruptis totius debitae fidelitatis habenis adv. Rom. Imperium, in cujus tranquillitate totius orbis regularitas requiescit, hostili animo armati conentur nedum humana, verum etiam divina praecepta, quibus jubetur quod omnis anima Romanor. Principi sit subjecta. M. Germ. Leg.*, ii. 554. Dante says: *qui bibitis fluentia ejus, ejusq. maria navigatis: qui calcatis arenas littorum et Alpium summitates, quae sunt suae; qui publicis quibuscumque gaudetis, et res*

doctrines were pushed thus far in opposition to the defiant tenets of Boniface VIII., who had claimed on behalf of the popes a similar absolute power as a divine right. The Dantesque idea of the empire was, however, by no means a programme of despotism. The universal emperor was not to be the tyrant of the world, who would destroy lawful liberty and wipe out the diversity of ranks, communities, and races with their constitutions, but rather a justice of the peace, raised far above all party passion by the possession of all things, the chief minister or president of the human republic, in short, the incarnation of the Idea of the Good.[1] We may say that this high ideal of the perfect temporal monarch was only the counterpart of the ideal of the pope, translated into the secular sphere. Too exalted alike for his times and for ours, it presupposes, if it is to be more than a poet's dream, the golden age of a universal republic, in which nations are only so many families enjoying unbroken peace, under the loving guidance of a freely elected father, who, according to Dante's theory, makes his dwelling in eternal Rome. The Ghibelline philosophy was consequently far removed from the idea of unlimited monarchy, such as was developed from

privatas vinculo suae legis, non aliter possidetis (Ep. v.). He calls Henry *Mundi rex et Dei minister* (Ep. vi.).

[1] *Vegghiate tutti, e levatevi incontro al vostro re, o abitatori d'Italia: e non solamenti serbate a lui ubbedienza, ma come liberi il reggimento.* Ep. v. of Dante (according to Witte). *Et hujusmodi politiae rectae libertatem intendunt, scil. ut homines propter se sint. Non enim cives propter consules, nec gens propter regem; sed e converso. Monarchia,* i. c. 14.



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2. HENRY VII. ANNOUNCES HIS JOURNEY TO ROME—GATHERING AT LAUSANNE—CLEMENT V.—ROBERT AND HENRY—THE POPE ANNOUNCES THE KING'S VISIT TO ROME—HENRY'S DEPARTURE—HIS FIRST APPEARANCE IN LOMBARDY—THE EMBASSY OF THE ROMANS— LEWIS OF SAVOY, SENATOR—CORONATION IN MILAN—FALL OF THE TORRI—DEFECTION OF THE LOMBARD CITIES—BRESCIA—HENRY IN GENOA —POSITION OF AFFAIRS IN ROME—ORSINI AND COLONNA—JOHN OF ACHAIA—THE LEAGUE OF THE GUELFS—DIFFICULT POSITION OF LEWIS OF SAVOY IN ROME.

Can we wonder that Henry agreed to undertake a glorious task as the hero of a great idea, and as law-giver to descend on the classic land, which had been trodden by no German king since the Hohenstaufens? At the Diet which he held at Speyer on August 30, 1310, many Italians appeared before him, many Lombards, especially Ghibelline exiles, exhorting him to come to Italy. The princes of the empire were in favour of the journey to Rome, to which they promised their vigorous support. Even the Romans desired it. The envoys of the King informed the Italian cities and nobles that he came "to restore peace to the world." The expectations which Henry's preparations called forth at the time found expression in a letter written by Dante to the princes and peoples of Italy.[1] The King of the Romans had bestowed the crown of Bohemia on John, his

[1] Ep. v. of Dante (ed. Witte, and *Op. Minor.*, ed. Fraticelli, ii.). Balbo holds this letter to have been an unpublished poetic effusion.

youthful son, and left his fatherland, like so many of his predecessors, to sacrifice his more immediate duty as regent to the ideal of empire. In the autumn of 1310 he went to Lausanne, since, according to arrangement, he was thence to set forth on the journey to Rome. Plenipotentiaries from almost every Italian city with handsome presents awaited his arrival. The Florentines alone remained unrepresented; their republic upheld the banner of the Guelfs with the same steadfastness that Pisa upheld that of the Ghibellines. Henry took the oath to act as Defender of the Church at the hands of the papal legates at Lausanne, swore to recognise all the imperial charters and to preserve the State of the Church, in which he vowed not to exercise any jurisdiction.[1]

Henry VII. at Lausanne in the autumn of 1310.

Clement V. now found himself in a contradictory position between inclination and disinclination, between hope and fear. In order to free himself from the fetters of Philip, who kept him in constant anxiety with the threat of the suit against Boniface VIII., demanding the condemnation of the dead pope, he had hastened to recognise Henry on the imperial throne. Was he now to allow the King of the Romans to rise to power in Italy, while he remained afar and powerless in France? Should he throw himself into the arms of the German emperor, declare himself in favour of the Ghibellines, abandon the entire Guelf party and especially King Robert? He had himself set this prince on the throne of

[1] *Promissa*, Lausanne, October 11, 1310, in Dönniges, *Acta Heinr.*, ii. 123. *Mon. Germ.*, iv. 501.

Naples; the Guelfs rallied round him, and the supreme power, which the expedition to Rome promised the Ghibellines, might therefore be restricted through Naples. As Henry now prepared for the expedition, the Pope hastened to make the same Robert Rector of the Church in the Romagna, afraid that Henry might seize the power in these disturbed provinces, which had only lately been ceded by the empire.[1] Before, however, Henry had sworn to the document at Lausanne, Clement issued a circular letter to the nobles and cities of Italy, in which he admonished them to accord a willing reception to the King of the Romans. The Pope probably then believed that Henry would carry out his mission of peace in Italy. The expressions of joy with which he announced the arrival of the expected saviour were, however, so exaggerated that they probably awakened doubts of their sincerity among suspicious Ghibellines. The language of Dante was not more enthusiastic than that of the Pope, who wrote: "Let the people who are subject to the Roman empire rejoice, for see the King brings them peace; the prince who is exalted by the divine favour, whose face the whole earth desires to behold, is coming among them with gentleness. Seated on the throne of majesty he will dispel every evil by his very

[1] The appointment is dated in *Prior. de Grausello*, August 19, 1310. Rayn., 19. It is beyond a doubt that the position which the Pope gave Robert in Italy was due to political foresight. He could not stand so far above parties as to survey with indifference the entire enfeeblement of the Guelfs, as Robert Pöhlmann seems to believe: *Der Römerzug Kaiser Heinrich's VII. und die Politik der Curie, des Hauses Anjou und der Welfenliga*, Nuremberg, 1875, p. 14 f.

bishop of Treves, and Walram Count of Lützelburg, the Dauphins Hugo and Guido of Vienne, Bishop Theobald of Liége, Gerhard Bishop of Basle, Lupold Duke of Austria, and the Duke of Brabant formed the most distinguished members of his train, and he found his most influential friend in his relative by marriage, the Count of Savoy.[1] He hoped above all to collect additional forces in Italy.

Henry VII. appears in Italy, Oct. 1310.

The King crossed Mont Cenis to Susa on October 23, 1310; on October 30 he entered Turin. Sixty long years filled with civil war and turbulence, memorable for important changes in the empire, the Papacy, and in Italy, had passed since Lombardy had witnessed the last progress to Rome. When a King of the Romans now appeared again on the banks of the Po, to restore the ancient alliance between Italy and Germany, the entire country was plunged in disquiet. This German king, unlike his predecessors, came almost unarmed to release peoples and cities from their tyrants.[2] The exiles, who roamed in

Nicolaus von Butrinto, Halle, 1872, in which the untrustworthiness of the biassed account is indicated: Ed. Heyck, *Nicolai Ep. Botront. Rel. de H. VII. Imp. Itinere Italico*, Innsbrück, 1888, edited as an authority.

[1] Amadeus married a sister of Maria of Brabant, who had been married to Henry in 1292. Amadeus was raised to the rank of prince on November 24, 1310. Dönniges, *Acta Henr. VII.*, i. 1. Such are the modest beginnings of the House of Savoy, which was to effect the union of Italy!

[2] The Ghibellines reckoned a new era from him. Dante dates two letters *faustissimi cursus Henrici Caesaris ad Italiam anno I.* (Ep. vi., vii.). In Ep. vii. he says: *ceu Titan peroptatus exoriens nova spes Latio saeculi melioris effulsit. Tunc plerique vota sua praevenientes in jubilo, tam Saturnia regna, quam Virginem redeuntem cum Marone cantabant.*

every direction, now hoped for return, the Ghibellines for restoration; the Guelfs alone, irresolute and disunited, were filled with dread. So necessary was peace to Lombardy, however, so powerful was the spell of an emperor's appearance, so great the hopes of his impartiality, that even they did not venture to interrupt his progress, but came to yield subjection. Guido della Torre, the tyrant of Milan, whose Ghibelline opponent Matthew Visconti still lived in exile, held back in distrust; but other Guelf leaders, Filippone of Langusco, lord of Pavia; Antonio of Fisiraga, tyrant of Lodi; Simon de Advocatis of Vercelli, the Margraves of Saluzzo and Montferrat, many lords and bishops of Lombard cities, hastened to Henry at Turin, and placed their forces under his banner. In a few days he collected 12,000 horse.

The Romans send envoys to him.

An embassy of the Romans greeted him on November 1. Colonna, Orsini, Anibaldi, the leaders of the Roman factions, appeared with 300 horse and magnificent retinues. They had been sent by the Capitol, not only to invite Henry to his coronation, but also to the Pope to demand his return to Rome, where it was hoped that in person he would crown the new emperor. Henry likewise sent envoys to the Pope, his brother Baldwin and Bishop Nicholas, who, in case Clement himself would not come, were to stipulate that full powers should be granted to representative cardinals. The Roman envoys had announced that they agreed with this proposal.[1]

[1] *Chron. Regiense*, Mur., xviii. 20; *Nicol. Botront.*, Mur., ix. 888. The Pope refers to this and to Henry's embassy in his brief of February 28, 1311. He excuses himself on the plea of the approach-

During their sojourn in Turin, it had been decided that Lewis of Savoy was to go to Rome as Senator, the count having been already chosen for the mission before Henry departed on his journey.[1] It was important for the King that one of his most faithful adherents, and a relation by marriage, should be installed as regent in the Capitol. In the summer of 1310 Lewis went to Rome, where he was acclaimed as Senator for a year by the people, and received the ratification of the Pope.[2]

Lewis of Savoy, Senator in the summer of 1310.

All the cities of Lombardy did homage to the King of the Romans, who, gentle and unsuspicious, gave ear to every complaint, and favoured neither Guelfs nor Ghibellines, but imposed peace.[3] Factions

ing Council, and leaves it to the King to appoint a day after Whitsuntide for the coronation. The letter is filled with expressions of affection. See Bonaini, *Acta Henr. VII.*, i. 168. These important regesta, taken from the Pisan Archives, have not yet appeared in print. Signor Bonaini, with his accustomed generosity, sent me all the finished sheets.

[1] I showed that the Pope had deposed the Senators on May 14, 1310, and given the Romans liberty of election. Now Villani, viii. c. 120, says: (July 3, 1310) *veñero in Firenze messer Luis de Savoia eletto Senatore con due prelati cherici d' Alamagna, e m. Simone Filippi da Pistoia, ambasciadore dello 'mperadore*, to request the Florentines to send envoys to Lausanne. Henry had consequently already come to an understanding with Rome, and probably also with the Pope, concerning Lewis's election.

[2] Lewis, as Senator, dates an edict respecting Corneto on August 7, 1310. Wüstenfeld, n. 54. He confirms the Statute of the Merchants on March 24, 1311, as *magnific. vir Ludovicus de Sabaudia dei gra. Alme Urbis Sen. III.* His assessor was the celebrated Cino of Pistoja; Savigny, *Geschichte des röm. Rechts im Mittelalter*, vi. p. 78.

[3] Henry's clemency appeared rather as weakness. *Nicol. Botront.*, 891.

became reconciled at his behest. He gave orders that exiles should everywhere be received; his commands were obeyed. As if in obedience to the voice of Dante, the cities voluntarily placed their government in Henry's hands and received imperial vicars. The King was endowed with qualities which made a favourable impression on both great and lowly; a man in the prime of his energies, forty-nine years of age, of agreeable exterior, a discreet speaker, magnanimous and brave, honest, moderate, religious, and possessed with a strong love of justice. Guelfs and Ghibellines held him in equal esteem, until misunderstandings or errors, above all an unkingly poverty —the gravest charge against a ruler—gradually diminished their reverence.[1] The head of the Ghibellines made his appearance at Asti; Matthew Visconti, who had been banished by the Torri, came in humble guise, with only one attendant, and threw himself at the feet of the King. Henry conducted him and the other exiles back to Milan on December 23. His entry into this great city, from which he himself had shrunk, was the first real triumph of the revived imperial power; for since the Guelf Otto, Milan had received no emperor within her walls. While troops of nobles unarmed, as he himself had commanded, advanced to meet the King and kissed the feet of the Prince of Peace, Guido della Torre

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ilan.

[1] Henry's portrait is drawn by Mussatus, i. 13: *Homo gracilis, statura prope justa, colore capilloque subruffis, eminentibus superciliis*, with a squint in the left eye. The Paduan Mussatus, although a Guelf, was a zealous adherent of the imperial ideals of Henry. See Toew, *Albertin. Mussatus und Heinrich VII.*, Greifswald, 1874, und J. Wychgram, *Albertino Mussato*, Leipzig, 1880.

with intentional disrespect, only came to the suburb to meet him. The Germans, however, soon overcame Guido's defiance.[1] For the last time the world surveyed the imposing spectacle of imperial majesty in its mediaeval aspect.

Henry forced the hostile houses of Torri and Visconti to reconciliation. He demanded the signory and Milan gave it to him. Cremona, Como, Bergamo, Parma, Brescia, Pavia sent their syndics to do homage, as Verona, Mantua, and Modena had done already. Henry stood, however, far above factions. He would allow neither Guelfs nor Ghibellines to be mentioned in his presence, so that the Guelfs said he saw only Ghibellines, and Ghibellines that he received only Guelfs. But his successes in Milan and the subjection of almost the whole of Lombardy excited terror among the Guelfs; the Florentines hastened to fortify their city, Bologna, Lucca, Siena, and Perugia to form a Guelf league and to demand aid from King Robert.[2]

Henry VII. crowned in S. Ambrogio, Jan. 6, 1311.

On January 6, 1311, Henry took the Iron Crown in S. Ambrogio from the hands of Gaston della Torre, the Archbishop of Milan whom he had brought back. Envoys from almost all the cities of Lombardy and Italy, even from Rome, were present; Venice,

[1] On Henry's approach all the Milanese flags were lowered except Guido's; the Germans threw it in the dust. Guido dismounted and kissed Henry's foot. The King said: *Amodo Guido pacificus et fidelis sis et, quem negare nefas est, dominum recognosce.* Joh. de Cermenate, c. xvi. 38 (recently edited by Ferrai, Rome, 1889, *Fonti per la storia Italiana*).

[2] See documents concerning this, from December 1310 onwards, in part ii. of the regesta collected by Bonaini.



speedily shattered, and Henry VII., whose conception of his authority in Italy was no lower than that cherished by the Hohenstaufen emperors, found himself in a short time on the same path and involved in the same labyrinth as his predecessors in the empire.[1]

The sudden fall of the powerful Guelf house disturbed the country and destroyed the spell produced by Henry's first appearance. Lodi, Cremona, Crema and Brescia renounced him. This forced the King, like his predecessors, to make war on cities, by which time and energy were lost and his whole scheme was changed. Cremona, it is true, again made subjection as did Lodi and Crema. The inhabitants of the city appeared barefooted, with a cord round their necks, to sue for mercy; but the angry King for the first time showed himself without pity; he punished even the innocent by a severe imprisonment and caused the walls of Cremona, which was sacked, to be razed to the ground. This unexpected severity, which shook the belief in his gentleness and justice, drove Brescia to fiercest resistance. Had Henry advanced to Rome without delay, Bologna, Florence, Siena, Rome, and even Naples, would have surrendered to him, or so at least contemporaries believed. The Florentine exiles, and especially Dante, who had already visited the King in person, impatiently exhorted him to advance rapidly against Florence; he resolved, however, to

First war in Lombardy.

[1] The excess to which Henry pushed the claims of his imperial rights has been proved not only by Ficker, *Forsch. zur Reichs- u. Rechtsgesch. Italiens*, vol. ii., but also in Pöhlmann's work.

overcome Brescia at any cost, since the city might easily become the head of a Guelf league and had already placed itself in communication with his enemies in Tuscany.[1] The tedious siege cost Henry four entire months, involved him in expenses entirely disproportionate to the undertaking, in the loss of his brother Walram and of more than half his army.

Brescia is besieged

It presents the most appalling picture of all the horrors of war against cities, hardly less awful than could have been experienced in the time of Barbarossa. Brescia, which had formerly heroically repulsed the attacks of Frederick II., was one of the most celebrated cities of Lombardy; its free citizens "resembled kings," its military power was that of a kingdom.[2] A banished Guelf, Theobald de Brusatis, a traitor to Henry, who had formerly loaded him with benefits, had made him a knight, and had led him back to his native city, conducted the defence with frantic energy, until he fell, mortally wounded, into the hands of the Germans, was dragged on a cowhide round the walls of Brescia and cut in quarters in the camp.[3] The indignation

[1] As early as April 16 Dante had entreated Henry to leave the cities alone and to punish hated Florence. Ep. vi. Balbo is indignant that Dante summons a foreigner against his native city, and we Germans may remark, that it was the Italians themselves who as a rule summoned our kings to their country.

[2] *Quid plura? cives reges erant.* Malvecci, *Chron.*, Mur., xiv. 991. Several cities received their rectors from Brescia at this time. After its capture Henry caused the number of the population to be taken in the city and its territory. There were 136,000 fighting men: *admirans inguit: profecto haec Brixia non est civitas, sed Regnum.*

[3] *Theobald. de Brusatis* was Count of the Romagna for the Church in 1304. On February 27, 1304, the syndics of Bologna maintained

of the Brescians was now unbounded; but their desperate resistance was overcome by famine and pestilence. They finally yielded to the representations of the cardinals, whom the Pope had sent for the imperial coronation, and laid down their arms.[1] On September 18 the unfortunate burghers came like spectres, barefooted, a cord round their necks, to throw themselves at the feet of their ruler, as conquered Lombards had so often knelt to emperors in past centuries. Henry gave them their lives; he also spared the city, and on September 24 made his melancholy entry over the levelled trenches and the ruins of the destroyed walls. He ordered the gates of Brescia to be carried to Rome as trophies of war.[2] By the force of circumstances the gentle Henry had thus become in the eyes of the Guelfs a conquering tyrant such as Barbarossa and Frederick II.

and conquered, Sept. 24, 1311.

He had now no stronger wish than to hasten to Rome for the imperial coronation, which, in accordance with the King's own desire, the Pope

the privileges of their city in his presence at Cesena. Archives of Bologna, *Reg.*, g. i. 2, f. 121.

[1] The Florentines encouraged Brescia by letters and money. Bonaini, ii. 36. The siege (which lasted from May 19 until September 18, 1311) has been described by chroniclers with all its horrors. Ventura, *Chron. Astense*, p. 233: *omnes qui capti erant a Brixianis, excorticabantur, et pellis et caput extendebantur super muros Civitatis.* The King's wife carried the seeds of death with her from Brescia to Genoa, where she breathed her last on December 13. Guy of Flanders also succumbed to the camp fever, which must have carried off 10,000 men of Henry's army.

[2] *Quod portae portarentur Romam.* Nicol. Botront., 904. A reminiscence of the *Carrocium* of Milan, sent to Rome by Frederick II.

had fixed for August 15. The delay before Brescia, however, had rendered this date impossible. His complications with France, the approaching Council at Vienne, his chronic sufferings and other considerations prevented Clement V. performing the coronation in person; he had, however, appointed various cardinals as his representatives. In their company Henry with his diminished forces marched by Cremona, Piacenza and Pavia to Genoa, where he made his entry on October 21, 1311, reconciled the hostile factions of Doria and Spinola, and soon after assumed the signory of the republic. Genoa was to have been the meeting place for all members of the expedition to Rome. But the tidings which Henry now received informed him of obstacles that had arisen between him and his object during the siege of Brescia.

Henry VII. in Genoa, Oct. 21, 1311.

The Senator Lewis had striven in Rome to soothe the party strife and to win the city to Henry's side. Unfortunately, being summoned by the King to Brescia in the autumn, he had made over the Torre delle Milizie and the Capitol to his representatives, Richard Orsini and John Anibaldi, under condition that they should retain these fortresses for Henry and surrender them to him on his arrival. But scarcely had Lewis left the city, when Orsini and Colonna rushed to arms, the former as enemies of Henry, whose coronation as emperor they hoped to prevent by means of Robert of Naples, the latter as Ghibellines. The head of the Colonna was Sciarra, the celebrated mortal enemy of Boniface VIII., while Stephen had accompanied Henry in

his marches in Lombardy.[1] The Orsini immediately summoned Robert to come to Rome, or at least to send troops thither. The King of Naples dreaded Henry's arrival; the Luxemburger's expedition seemed to Robert a continuation of Conradin's. He foresaw that the Emperor would revive the claims on Naples, and would endeavour to thrust the Angevin from the throne which he usurped. This was inevitable, although Henry had not yet conceived any such design; on the contrary, he desired a treaty with Robert.[2] The King of Naples, however, deceived him. For while holding negotiations with him respecting an alliance between the families, he furthered a Guelf league between Bologna and the cities of Tuscany. As early as the spring of 1311, he sent Catalan mercenaries under Diego della Ratta to Florence and the Romagna, of which he was vicar for the Pope. He drove the Ghibellines from various places. His troops united with Florentines and Lucchese to close the passes of Lunigiana against Henry.[3] While the

[1] The Romans, Peter de Anibalis and Stephen de Columna, were in Brescia with the Emperor on October 1, 1311. Böhmer, *acta Imp. selecta*, 635.

[2] This is clearly expressed in instructions which Robert gave later to his envoys to the Pope: *dubitans Rex ipse—ne de Urbe sibi dictoque Regno suo offendiculum gravioris periculi perveniret, sicut tempore invasionis Corradini, operante quond. dompno Henrico de Yspania ipsius Corradini fautore.* Archives of Siena, Parchment n. 1387, without a date; A.D. 1313.

[3] The Florentines had renewed the Guelf league in their parliament on February 20, 1311 (*talia et societas inter comunia societatis Tuscie et Bononie*), and had made Philip of Achaia and Tarento, brother of Robert, their Captain-General. Bonaini, ii. 17, 19.

Florentines used their gold at the papal court to try and keep Henry at a distance and bribed the Lombard cities to revolt, they entreated Robert to occupy Rome, as he had promised. As they now learned that he was carrying on negotiations with Henry, they wrote to him in great indignation, reminded him of his promises never to allow any family alliance to be formed with the German king, and threatened, in case he violated his compact, to recall their troops from Rome, whither they had already sent more than 2000 men.[1]

While in Genoa, Henry had been once more deceived by embassies from Robert. He was astounded when Sciarra Colonna appeared before him, informed him of what had taken place in Rome, urgently begged for troops and pressed him to hasten his coming. For Robert had responded to the requests of the Florentines and had sent his brother John, Count of Gravina, with 400 horse to Rome, where he was received by the Orsini, occupied S. Angelo and the Trastevere, and endeavoured to overcome the remaining fortresses. The city was consequently divided into camps of Guelfs and Ghibellines, into imperialists and royalists, who entrenched themselves in the streets and waged fierce war on one another. These tidings induced

John of Gravina garrisons Rome.

[1] Letter of the Florentines, June 17, 1311. *Archiv. Flor. Sig. Carteggio*, i. fol. 13. On June 20 they write to Gentilis Orsini: *Regia provid. pluries nob. scripsit—quod cum Rege Alam. concordiam aliquam non volebat, sed suum exfortium mitteret et personaliter veniret ad Urbem, ad mortem dicti hostis.* In October 1311 they maltreated Henry's envoys, Pandulf Savelli and Bishop Nicholas. Henry cited them before his tribunal on November 20, and placed them under the ban on December 24. *Mon. Germ.*, iv. 521.

Henry to send the Senator Lewis to Rome in company with the Colonna; but he only gave him an escort of fifty German knights. Ignorant of the true importance of the occurrences, he imagined that everything would be tranquillised by the vigorous intervention of the officials, and does not even seem to have doubted Robert's assurance that Prince John had only entered Rome in order solemnly to attend the imperial coronation.[1] When Lewis of Savoy, under the protection of the Counts of Santa Fiora and the Colonna, now entered Rome, he found the Orsini and the prince in possession of the greater number of the fortresses and unwilling to obey his own vicars. They refused to resign their office, and only for money would they surrender the Torre delle Milizie and the Capitol. The Senator made his dwelling in the Lateran; he unsuccessfully strove to appease the Orsini and to induce John to return to Naples. The peaceful entry of his master for his coronation consequently seemed no longer probable.[2]

[1] Joh. de Cerm., xlii. 94; Ferret. Vicent., p. 1091. Villani, ix. c. 39, says, it is true, that John of Calabria entered Rome on April 16, 1312, but the statement does not agree with John de Cermenate. We must assume that John came to Rome as early as December 1311. He probably then returned to Naples and came back with fresh troops in April 1312. I have, unfortunately in vain, searched the regesta of the dynasty of Anjou, in the State Archives of Naples, for this and the following periods of *saec.* xiv. They contain scarcely any political correspondence.

[2] Lewis's return to Rome and the refusal of the Florentines to let him pass are mentioned in the Emperor's Citation of November 20, 1311, and in the ban of December 24. Lewis had consequently left Genoa in October before Nicholas of Botronto went to Florence; but his arrival in Rome was probably delayed until February 1312.

3. Henry in Pisa — He sends Envoys to Prince John and King Robert—March to Rome—His Ghibelline Allies — Entry into Rome — Condition of the City—Defences of the Guelfs and Ghibellines—Henry seizes several Nobles —Surrender of their Fortresses—Fall of the Capitol—Street Warfare — Henry determines to be crowned in the Lateran—Plebiscites— The Cardinal-legates crown the Emperor in the Lateran.

On February 16, 1312, Henry, with an insignificant force and accompanied by the cardinals appointed to perform the coronation, embarked at Genoa. Storms forced him to remain thirteen days at anchor at Porto Venere, and not until March 6 did he land at Pisa.[1] The city, the inflexibly faithful ally of the German emperors, invariably the harbour, gathering-place and rallying point of the expeditions to Rome, received him with like rejoicings as it had received Conradin. It bestowed the signory upon him and supplied him liberally with money; the Ghibellines of Tuscany and the Romagna flocked round his banner.[2] Too weak to make war on the league of

Henry VII. at Pisa, March 6, 1312.

[1] We can follow his journey day by day from the account books of the court. These *Rendages Gile* in the Pisan Archives have been collected by Bonaini in the *Acta* of Henry VII. Henry remained at Porto Venere from February 21 until March 5; *item le dimence, V jour de mart. que li roys se parti de ce lieu apres magier, quatrevingt livres, XVIII sols, II deniers, valent LXXV florins, III gros.* Such was the cost of maintenance of the court for one day.

[2] Villani, ix. c. 37. At this time John Parricida, Albert's murderer, cast himself at the feet of the King. Henry threw him into prison at Pisa, where he died on December 13, 1315, and was buried in S. Niccolò. Böhmer, *Regest.*, 298, with the passages quoted.

the Tuscan Guelfs, Henry satisfied himself with placing their principal centres under the ban of the empire; while behind him apostate cities in Lombardy were already driving forth his vicars and stood defiantly at arms. Messengers from Rome informed him that the imperial party were reduced to such straits that Ponte Molle, their only free access to the city, was in danger, and that fresh reinforcements were arriving from the Guelf league. Henry consequently sent Stephen Colonna to Rome; he also sent envoys to Robert to conclude the marriage between his daughter Beatrix and Robert's son. At the same time he commanded Bishop Nicholas and the notary Pandulf Savelli to hasten to Rome and ask Prince John not to hinder his peaceful entry, since King Robert had assured him that his brother had only gone to attend the coronation ceremonies.[1] The envoys reached Rome on April 30. The Prince answered them that more recent letters from his royal brother commanded him to oppose King Henry's entrance with all his power, that he would continue to fight the Ghibellines, that he declared war on the King, but for strategic reasons would recall his troops from Ponte Molle. The dismayed envoys left the city under the safe-conduct of Gentile Orsini, and hastened to meet the approaching King.

Departure from Pisa, April 23, 1312.

On April 23 Henry left Pisa with 2000 horse besides infantry, a scanty force compared to that at the head of which emperors had formerly arrived.

[1] Niccolò of Botronto gives an interesting account of his mission. According to the *Rendages* he left Pisa on April 19.

Among his retinue were the three cardinal-legates, Arnold Pelagru of the Sabina, nephew of the Pope; Nicholas of Ostia, a Tuscan from Prato of Ghibelline sympathies, formerly legate of Benedict XI. in Florence, where he had wished to re-establish the Bianchi; Luca Fieschi of S. Maria in Via Lata, the same cardinal who had formerly released Boniface VIII. in Anagni. His brother Baldwin, his cousin Theobald of Liége, Rudolf Duke of Bavaria, Amadeus of Savoy, Guido Dauphin of Vienne, the Marshal Henry of Flanders and his son Robert, Godfrey Count of Leiningen and Governor of Alsace, Diether Count of Katzenellnbogen, and Henry Abbot of Fulda accompanied the King as counsellors or generals. Heedless of danger the army marched across the Maremma; without encountering the Guelfs, crossed the Ombrone near Grosseto and reached Viterbo on May 1.[1] Throughout the territory between Viterbo, the lake of Bracciano and Sutri, the family of the Prefects of Vico, and the Counts Orsini-Anguillara were all powerful. They received the King with honour, since the present Prefect of the city, Manfred of Vico, a son of that Peter so celebrated in the time of King Manfred, was an avowed Ghibelline, and Count Anguillara a relation by marriage of Stephen Colonna. All these magnates, as well as the lords

[1] *Rondages*: on April 23 they reached *Saint Savin* (behind Leghorn); on April 24, *S. Vincent* (*S. Vincenzo*); April 25, *a Campille* (*Campiglia*); 26, *a Karlin* (*Scarlino*); 27, *a Castillon* (*Castiglione della Pescaja*); 28, *a Maillan* (*Magliano*); on the 29th they rested at the same place; on the 30th *a Monchant* (*Manciano*); from May 1 to 5 they remained *a Viterbe*.

of S. Fiora and the Hohenstaufen Conrad of Antioch, ranged themselves under Henry's banner; Todi, Amelia, Narni and Spoleto also sent troops. Henry marched through Sutri along the Via Claudia, past Baccanello as through a friendly country, unprepared and almost unarmed, until at Castel Isola, on the ruins of Veii, messengers hurrying back from Rome informed him that Prince John intended to prevent the coronation. The astonished King ordered the army to halt and to encamp under arms in the open country.[1]

On the morning of May 6 Henry's army advanced to Rome in order of battle. Nowhere was an enemy in sight. After a short march the imperialists found themselves before Ponte Molle.[2] A year earlier the bridge had been occupied by the Colonna; the passage was free, for John had recalled his troops and had only garrisoned the adjacent tower of Tripizon with archers.[3] As the imperial army

[1] *Castrum de Insula* (in Nicol. Botront.), now *Isola Farnese*, the ancient *Veji*. In the remote Middle Ages a fortress arose on the soil of the ruined city. This fortress took its name from the so-called island, which was formed by two brooks. Tomassetti, "Della Camp. Rom." (*Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, v. 113 f.). In *saec.* x. the place was called *Insula pontis Veneni* (a corruption of *Veientani*), and came into possession of the Orsini in *saec.* xiv. It must not be confused with *Ischia* (*Isola*) near Farnese on the Lago di Bolsena.

[2] *Item, Samedi, VI. jour de May, a Rome a Pontmolle* (*Rendages*) —*Pons de Mollen*, says Niccolò of Botronto.

[3] The tower, built on an ancient monument, belonged to the Colonna, whose fortresses extended from the Field of Mars to Ponte Molle. Joh. de Cermen. calls it *Erupitio*; others *Tripizon*, *Tripeje*; Gile says *Tribichon*. It had a wooden platform for catapults, and it is possible that from these (*trabuchi*) the name may have been derived. A fanciful representation of the tower is given on a page in the series

neared the river they saw the Neapolitan cavalry approach from the Vatican, but no encounter took place. The King rode fearlessly over the bridge; only some horses belonging to the rear-guard were struck by arrows. He encamped at night between Ponte Molle and the city, on the scene of the heroic but now forgotten struggles of Belisarius. On the following morning he made his entry through the Porta del Popolo, received by the Ghibelline nobility, by numbers of the people and the clergy. He avoided the Guelf quarter, and advanced through the Field of Mars and past S. Maria Maggiore to the Lateran. On his route through Rome, a route by which no king of the Romans had ever entered before, barricades, fortified towers, ruinous houses (destroyed in the civil war), and a defiant people in arms stared him everywhere in the face. The sight of the still half-destroyed basilica of S. John, and of the building materials with which it was surrounded, must have produced the most melancholy impression. Ruins encompassed the King; amid ruins and clad in the habit of a canon he made his first prayer in the Lateran. From the Lateran palace, where he took up his abode, he gazed with wonder on the appalling labyrinth of the city.[1] Was it not a bitter satire on all his

Henry VII. enters Rome, May 7, 1312.

of illustrations of the *Codex Balduini Trevirensis*. It is represented as a column with a capital on which stand three defenders.

[1] Henry presented the Lateran with two silk Palliums (*dras de tarse*), and brought a lion as a gift to the Capitol (*Rendages*). He afterwards dwelt in the "Milizie" and at S. Sabina, while Baldwin of Tréves made his abode in the *Quattro Coronati* (*Gesta Baldewini* in Baluz., *Miscell.*, ed. Mansi, ii. 318). According to Mussatus the

exalted dreams that he was now obliged to force his way from ruin to ruin, from barricade to barricade, from tower to tower, to set the imperial crown on his head in S. Peter's? The Church, which had disputed the crown with most of his predecessors, voluntarily offered it to him; he was accompanied by the cardinal-legates of the Pope, but the coronation was forbidden by some Roman nobles and by an obscure prince who had obtained possession of the Vatican. And was this the Rome left orphan by the emperors, who had appealed to him with such fervent longing? "My Caesar, why art thou not with me?" The entire city was divided into two hostile and fortified districts; the centre of the Ghibellines was the Lateran, the centre of the Guelfs the Vatican. This quarter, with S. Angelo, Trastevere, all the bridges, Monte Giordano, the Campo di Fiori, the Minerva, several other monuments and towers, in short, more than half of the most populous part of Rome, was in the power of Prince John and of the Orsini under their captains Gentile and Ponzello. The Ghibellines under Sciarra and Stephen Colonna held the quarters Monti, the Lateran, S. Maria Maggiore, the Pantheon, the Mausoleum of Augustus, the Porta del Popolo, and Ponte Molle. The Capitol with the Torre delle Milizie was still in possession of the former vicars of Lewis, Richard Orsini and John Anibaldi, who

army consisted on its entry of 700 German knights; 300 Tuscan Ghibellines; 150 retainers of Count of S. Fiora; 100 of the Anguillarae; 50 of Conrad of Antioch; these were now joined by the Ghibellines of Rome and the Campagna.

with other nobles assumed an undecided attitude between the factions. The Conti held their gigantic tower, the Anibaldi the Colosseum, the Aventine, and the tower of S. Marco; the Frangipani the Palatine, the Savelli the Theatre of Marcellus. Barricades, in part strongly walled up, supported by towers and fortified houses, formed in each camp so many strongholds, which were garrisoned with from thirty to one hundred men, and stood under captains appointed to command the various quarters.

Henry's first glance over Rome caused him to doubt whether he would soon be able to reach S. Peter's. As early as May 10 he consequently demanded that the cardinals should procure him free access to the cathedral, or, were this impossible, crown him in the Lateran.[1] Finding that he could only gain by force of arms that which peaceful negotiations would not accord him, he resolved to conquer Rome step by step. The disastrous war which was waged by the Luxemburger for the imperial crown, and filled the streets of Rome with blood, is circumstantially described by contemporaries, but the accounts are distinguished by topographic rather than by historic importance. The tower of Tripizon fell into the power of Baldwin of Tréves and Robert of Flanders as early as May 13, and this first victory served to enliven the festival of Whitsuntide which Henry spent in the Lateran.[2] A

Beginning of the war of barricades in Rome.

[1] Dönniges, *Acta*, ii. 35; Böhmer, *Reg.*, p. 300. On May 31 the cardinals again turned to the Orsini and John, demanding a free passage to the coronation, but naturally their request was refused.

[2] *In palatio Neroniano festivavit: Gesta Trev.* ap. Hontheim,

few days later envoys brought the answer of King Robert, which contained such extravagant conditions that Henry was forced to reject them.[1] The question was now that of taking the Capitol. Soon after the arrival of the King, the citadel had been surrendered to Prince John by Lewis's vicars for a sum of money, and the Prince caused the great tower of the City Chancellor at the foot of the Capitol to be garrisoned.[2] In order to conquer it, it was first necessary for Henry to gain possession of the tower of S. Marco on one side, of the Torre delle Milizie on the other.[3] The King, who unknown to himself had become the head of the Ghibellines, sought safety in stratagem. Loyal friends and secret enemies were invited to a banquet in the Lateran. The meal ended, Henry rose and said: "My cause and my right compel me to

827. The banquet could only take place in the Lateran palace, to which legend gave the name of Nero. The expenses of the imperial court in Rome for the first week amounted to 1004 florins.

[1] Henry's daughter was to be conducted to Naples in September; the children of this marriage were to receive Sicily; the Duke of Calabria was to be Vicar of Tuscany and Lombardy for life. Henry was not to be accompanied to his coronation in S. Peter's by the Colonna without the consent of the Orsini; he was only to remain in Rome four days after the ceremony. Notarial Document of May 18, 1312, in the Lateran. Bonaini, i. 223.

[2] According to Niccolò of Botronto, who was then in Rome, the Capitol was surrendered to John before Henry seized the nobles. Niccolò alleges the surrender as a reason for their seizure, p. 918.

[3] Peter Gaetani had bought the "Milizie" from the Anibaldi; in Henry VII.'s time it was owned by the city. When Lewis of Savoy made it over to his vicars, one of them, John Anibaldi, hastened to restore it to his family. He gave the tower to his brother Anibaldo Anibaldi.

Henry's speech to the Roman nobles.

address you in my necessity. Astonishment, however, almost stops my tongue, when I consider what has brought me from my own illustrious royal city into this Italy. Was it aught else than the longing to re-establish the already extinct empire? than the desire, under the shield of the imperial majesty, to invest the Romans, who are scarcely to be distinguished from barbarians, with the majesty of world-wide dominion? What did so many letters and so many urgent messengers ask of me? This, that I should visit my faithful senate and the Roman people, to repair to the Capitol amid their acclamations. Did I come by force as an intruder, that I should be thrust back on the threshold of the Apostle Peter? No, here are the witnesses, three cardinals, my guides, the executors of the canonical and imperial decrees. I therefore turn again to you, you Romans, and ask: 'Did you call me in order that I might come in vain and appear as a laughing-stock to the world?' I am determined to learn at this table what are your avowed intentions and what you meditate in secret; in short, who among you will help me? And let every one openly declare the part that he has chosen."[1] The answer of

[1] A vigorous speech, which, as usual, owes its style to the historians. Henry only spoke French. *Jordani Chron.*; Murat., *Antiq.*, iv. 1030; Mussatus, viii. c. 4. *Quod me ex Augusta urbe Regia in hanc Italiam adduxerit*—Aachen, which still bears the eagle and the legend *Urbs Aquensis Regni sedes primaria* on its magistrate's seal. Letters from the French king had been received in Rome, exhorting the nobility not to fight in Henry's service against Rome. Niccolò of Botronto. Among those invited to the banquet were also *D. Hanibal et D. Theobaldus de Campo Floris, qui consilium suum juraverant in Taurino.*

the nobles, which Henry caused to be put on record, was in the affirmative, so far as regarded their assistance, but was occasionally ambiguous and allied to conditions. Stephen Colonna loyally placed himself and his fortresses at the King's disposition, gave hostages, and was amicably dismissed. Nicholas Conti explained that respect forbade him to fight against Robert, from whom he had received the belt of knighthood. Anibaldo Anibaldi, John Savelli, and Tibald of the Campo di Fiore promised obedience, but with some reservations. The angry King asked for security, and finally kept the recalcitrant gentlemen in custody and forced them to surrender their city fortresses. Anibaldo, brother of the Vicar John, and John himself (who was still in the Capitol) surrendered the Torre delle Milizie, the rooms of which the King caused immediately to be prepared for his own use.[1] Thus the strongest fortress of the city fell into his hands, and at the same time the tower of S. Marco, the Torre dei Conti, the Aventine and the Colosseum. The Capitol was now more closely invested. In order to prevent relief by the Orsini, the King forced John Savelli to barricade his own houses and streets. Henceforward besides Sciarra, Stephen and John Colonna, Peter and John Savelli, Tibaldo of Eustachio, Richard and Peter Anibaldi, and Stephen

He takes some of the barons prisoners.

[1] The "Milizie" was undoubtedly surrendered as early as May 23. *Rendages*, 23 *Mai: a ceux qui warderent le Milisse par une nuit, ancois que li rois i venist, par le hove maistre; II florins;* on May 25: *Item pour carpentages fais es cambres le roy, a S. Jehan de Lateran et a le Milisse.*

Normannus Alberteschi served as captains in the several quarters, on barricades, towers, bridges, and gates.[1]

Prince John hoped for a considerable force for the relief of the harassed Capitol; for on May 21, Guelfs from Florence, Lucca, Siena and Perugia under John of Biserno entered the Vatican—some thousand men excellently equipped.[2] Their entry forced Henry to haste. On May 21 and 22, the Capitol, the tower of the Chancellor Malabranca, and the dwelling of Richard Anibaldi were attacked. The Guelfs pushed behind the Minerva to relieve the Capitol. They were repulsed by the imperialists. The Bavarians took prisoner Peter Malabranca, nephew of the Chancellor, also the Count of Biserno. The conquered towers and houses were burnt to the ground; a part of the quarter of the Minerva was also destroyed by fire.[3] The imperialists, favoured by

[1] Niccolò de Botronto speaks of the surrender of the *Mons de Sabello;* this is either the Aventine or the Theatre of Marcellus. I place the arrest of the nobles on May 20. On June 21 the Pope indignantly demands that Henry shall release them. Bonaini, i. 232.

[2] Villani. His date, May 21, agrees fairly well with the statement that Perugia sent 150 cavalry to Rome on May 4 (Graziani, *Arch. Stor.*, xvi. i. 1312). Siena again sent troops, but too late. On July 23, 1312, the *Consil. gen.* of that city allowed the captain of the people, *Ranuccio de Serra Farolfi*, to go to Rome with troops, *in servizio del Re R. e della Compania de Guelfi di Toscana* (Archives of Siena, *Lib. Delib.*, lxxxi. 52).

[3] The tower *Cancellarii* is called *turris pedis mercati* in the Statute of the Merchants: Villani, x. c. 67: *la bella e nobile torre ch' era sopra la mercatanzia appiè di Campidoglio, che si chiamava la torre del Cancelliere.* It was stormed in vain on May 21, and attacked again on May 28 and June 5. *Rendages*, May 28: *Item pour pis, haweas, et autres instrumens acheter, ce jour et ce lieu, pour abatre le tour de*

the Franciscan monks, seized the convent of Ara Coeli, whereupon the garrison of the Capitol surrendered to Lewis of Savoy on May 25.[1] Henry ratified the Savoyard as Senator, and Lewis made Nicholas Bonsignore of Siena his vicar.

The Capitol taken by storm, May 25, 1312.

The following day an attack was made on the trenches in the Field of Mars and on those in the regions Ponte and Parione in order to open the way to S. Peter's. As in the darkest days of the Middle Ages, mail-clad bishops and clergy fought sword in hand round the barricades. The great barricade of Laurentius Statii of the Campo di Fiore fell by assault. The imperialists ousted the Orsini and sacked and burnt their palaces. They advanced with savage fury as far as the Bridge of S. Angelo, where Prince John stood with the Guelf captains in Hadrian's Mausoleum, on the other side of the river. A sudden sortie from the fortress drove back the imperialists. They retreated amid severe losses to the quarter of the Colonna, and the Guelfs advanced victorious. The bells on the Capitol sounded an

Fight round the barricades in the Field of Mars, May 26.

Cancelier; VII flor. et III sols. prov. The tower was dismantled on August 23, 1405. The field of battle on May 22 was the district between the Via Lata and Minerva, called at that time *Camigliano* from the Arch of Camillus. On May 24 this part was occupied by Tibaldo of S. Eustachio with twenty-five sergeants *ordinés a warder le lieu de S. Marie Minerve;* whence it follows that Tibaldo was already in Henry's service.

[1] The date, according to Alb. Mussat., viii. c. 4, was *VIII. Kal. Junii.* So also according to Ptol. Lucens., *Vita Clem. V.: XXV. die Maii Rex Romanor. occupat Capitolium.* According to the *Gesta Baldewini* thirty towers were stormed on the same day; this fight is depicted in an illustration in the *Codex Balduini* with the inscription: *Monasterium minor. capit vi. capitolium se reddit et XXX. turres.*

attack; the vicar called the people to arms. Towards evening all became still, and both Guelfs and Ghibellines resumed their positions. Thus the intention of the imperialists to force a way to S. Peter's was baulked.[1]

The street battle of May 26 cost the lives of many brave nobles. Egidius of Warnsberg, Abbot of Weiszenburg in Alsace, Count Peter of Savoy, brother of the Senator, and several knights were slain. Theobald of Bar, the Bishop of Liége and cousin of the King, whose dignity had not prevented him from taking part in the bloody fray, had been made prisoner by a Guelf knight, who mounted him on his own horse and led him to Prince John. A Catalan struck the holy man from his horse, and he died soon after in S. Angelo. After the lapse of 500 years, the German who visits the basilicas of Aracoeli and of S. Sabina on the Aventine can still stand by the grey tombstones, survey the escutcheons of the slain adherents of Henry VII., and read their names and the date of their deaths in well-preserved inscriptions.[2]

[1] The imperialists retained the tower near S. Eustachio. *Rendages*, May 27: *à Thiebaud de S. Eustasse pour les wardes de la tour de la Saint Eustasse acquise cele nuit sur le ennemis; IV. flor.* On May 24 Sciarra occupied S. Apollinare. From S. Eustachio they penetrated into the quarter of the Orsini (*Minerva, Campo di Fiori, Monte Giordano*). Ventura, *Chr. Astense*, p. 236, says the imperialists *pervenerunt usque S. Angelum.* According to Ptol. Lucens. (Baluze, p. 47), the house of Gentile, with the surname *Alperici*, stood *prope Minervam.*

[2] The gravestone of the Abbot of Weiszenburg lies in S. Sabina: *Hic Req. Egidius De Varnsberch in Regno Alem. Abbas Quond. In Wizemburgch Dioc. Spasensis Qui Ob. A. MCCCXII. M. Madii*

The loss of the battle had a disastrous effect on the imperial party. The City Prefect Manfred, the Counts of Anguillara and Santa Fiora, Conrad of Antioch, the forces of Spoleto, Todi, and Narni left Rome. A fleet, which the Pisans had equipped with siege-artillery, was seized by the enemy's admiral and brought to Naples. The wearied King now urged the cardinals to prepare the way for the coronation by negotiation; but his request was unavailing.[1] Prince John and the Guelfs stood defiantly between him and the crown, which, in their intention, was never again to be worn by a German king; they well knew that Clement V. regarded Henry's coronation with suspicion and gave it only a lukewarm encouragement. Must not the Pope have dreaded that the Emperor would establish his

D. XXVI. Beside him lies his chaplain: *D. Egidis De Vilika* (*Rendages: Item, IV jour de juin, conté par Renardin pour mille troicent XXXIII libres de cire, pour faire le service mons. de Liège et l'abbé de Wissembourgch az freres Preceurs*). Two knights lie in Aracoeli: *A.D. MCCCXII. VII. Kal. Junii Obiit D. Ekebertus Chreccil Miles Marescall. III. Dni. Rudolfi Comitis Palatini Reni Et Ducis Babarie—. A.D. MCCCXII. Kal. Junii Die Veneris Post Vrbani Obiit D. Eberhardus Miles De Erlach Magister Camere III. Dni Rudolfi Com. Pal. Reni Et Ducis Bav.*

[1] Urgent letter of the cardinals to John and the Orsini, Gentile, Romanus, Poncellus, Francesco, and Poncelletus de Monte, Rome, May 31, 1312. Dönniges, ii. 182. It was desired at all costs to prevent Henry from going to Naples. The longing to avenge Conradin was strongly felt in his army. *Minabantur etiam gentes ipsius monasterium S. Marie de Victoria—demoliri, circa quem locum dictus Corradinus hostis E. fuit devictus. Que omnia gentes predicti regis non secrete dicebant, immo istriones ipsius in publicas reduxerant cantilenas.* Thus Robert said later, when excusing himself to the Pope for having sent John to Rome. Bonaini, i. 240.

throne in "widowed Rome"? The city, indeed, never offered less difficulty in the way of becoming the imperial residence than during the period of the exile in Avignon. It was consequently the Guelfs who, with weapons in their hands and with the Pope's secret consent, prevented the Emperor from taking the place left vacant by the Pope.[1]

The enthusiasm of the Ghibelline party waned; the daily warfare in the streets, the devastation of the city, the privations, the incessant erection of barricades exhausted the patience of the Romans.[2] Henry was now forced to appeal to the popular favour. He summoned a parliament, and more than ten thousand citizens appeared on the piazza in front of the Capitol. Nicholas Bonsignore addressed them in the name of the King; he pronounced the ban on all Romans who refused to yield subjection within the appointed time and promised an amnesty to the obedient. The popular assembly ratified the edict and demanded an immediate renewal of war.

[1] Dante knew that Clement V. deceived Henry and wrote the line: *Pria che il Guasco l' atto Arrigo inganni.*

[2] Barricades: in the Colonna quarter; in the Savelli quarter from the Theatre of Marcellus to the tower Monzone, which was commanded by Stephen Normannus Alberteschi; the Colosseum, commanded by the Anibaldi; the great barricade near the Minerva, under Tibaldo di S. Eustachio. A barricade *de Galganis*, commanded by Peter Savelli (the *Galgani* dwelt in the region of S. Angelo); another at the tower of the Chancellor. The costs of erecting the barricades are given by Gile. For example, *conté par maitre Jehan Dobois, ordoné a prendre garde as barres Thiebaut 'de S. Eustasse, pour VII mil CCC quarreax, bertesses faire sour les maisons, barres refaire, cordes et baustes a traire pierres, et ce que besoin est ens es tours —CXIX flor.* The pay of the guards is reckoned every ten days.

Henry, however, delayed it. He had previously caused the Senate to confer upon him the right of exercising jurisdiction in Rome; a right which he had renounced in his treaty with the Pope; for so low had the imperial majesty fallen, that this right of judging Romans in civil and criminal cases, which earlier emperors had exercised as a matter of course, was only accorded to Henry by formal consent of the Senate.[1] His heralds now invited the Trasteverines before the imperial tribunal. Few obeyed, but contrary to expectation some prominent nobles belonging to the opposite party, such as the youthful Ursus, Peter of Monte Nigro, and Anibaldo, who, after the surrender of the Torre delle Milizie, would not return to his brother, responded.[2] Their conduct revived the hopes of the Ghibellines and diminished the confidence of the Guelfs.

An attack on S. Angelo failed. The last hope of forcing a way to S Peter's was thus shattered.[3]

[1] Dönniges, *Acta*, ii. 41. Since in Henry's promise at Avignon occurred the formula: *et in Roma nullum placitum aut ordinationem faciet de omnib. que ad Vos pertinent sive Romanos*, this act also added: *predicta — concessio non trahatur ad ea que ad placit. et ordinat. s. pont. et Romanor. pertinent.* That is to say, the Emperor received juridical but not political power. *Act. Rome in palatio vocato les Milites . . . die XIII. Junii.*

[2] All this is given in F. Vicentinus, who affects the style of the ancient Romans, always speaks of Henry as of the Roman Emperor, and talks of auguries. The approach of the Renascence is evident.

[3] The date is unknown, nor can we accurately infer it from sepulchral inscriptions. An epitaph in Aracoeli says: *Hic Jacet Sanctus Andree Lutii de Callio Notar. Aule et Scriptor Cancellarie D. Henrici Roman. Imp. Qui Obiit A.D. MCCCXII. Die VI. Junii.* Another in the Sabina: *A.D. MCCCXII. Die XVII. M. Junii Obiit Nob. Armiger Gozo De Husbergen* (Hausbergen) *De*

Weary and impatient, Henry now requested to be crowned in the Lateran, where in similar circumstances an emperor had once before received the diadem. The legates refused; they had been empowered by the Pope to crown him in S. Peter's, and the formula of coronation referred solely to this sacred cathedral.[1] In order to overcome the opposition of the cardinals, appeal was made to the will of the people; for the Romans maintained that, according to ancient right, they had a vote in the coronation of the Emperor, and the difficulty in which Henry found himself compelled him to invoke a democratic principle to his aid. Senate and people consequently passed a decree in parliament, which proclaimed that the coronation should take place in the Lateran, and that the cardinals should be compelled to yield to the will of the people.[2] A deputation of ten demanded the execution of the plebiscite; the legates, however, explained that they must first consult with the Pope. A fortnight passed in daily warfare, until the obstinacy of the cardinals, who were assailed by repeated deputations, and the pro-

The Roman people compel the cardinals to crown Henry in the Lateran.

Theotonia Cuj. An. Req. In Pace. The last of the inscriptions from Henry's time in Rome (Aracoeli): *Hic Jacet Franciscus de Imola Notar. Aule et Scriptor Cancellarie Dni Henrici Romanor. Imp. Qui Obiit A.D. MCCCXII. NO. XI. Die.*

[1] It is the *Ordo Coronationis* of June 19, 1311. *Mon. Germ.*, iv. 529. It contains the traditional rite with modifications relating to the representation of the Pope by cardinals, and with the protest of the Pope that the alterations in the ceremonial were merely temporary.

[2] *Ex plebiscitis itaque obtentum est, Cardinales Reipublicae suasionibus precibusque coronam dare, sin autem, coercendos per Tribunos, Populumque Romanum.* Alb. Mussat., viii. c. 7.

vocation of Henry's adherents drove the people to revolt. On June 22 they attacked the Torre delle Milizie and threatened the legates with death. Henry calmed the disturbance, and the legates announced their readiness to perform the coronation, if within eight days they received no instructions from the Pope.[1] They waited in vain, and the solemn act was arranged to be performed in the Lateran on the festival of SS. Peter and Paul. A tax for the coronation which Henry demanded from the Romans was refused, or was only paid by the Jews in the city. On the eve of the ceremony the King betook himself to the palace of S. Sabina, whence the procession was to set forth, just as on June 4, 1133, when Lothar, excluded from S. Peter's by the party of Anaclete II., had also been obliged to receive the crown in the Lateran. Mounted on a white horse, clad in white, his fair hair flowing down on his shoulders, Henry VII. proceeded from the Aventine to the Circus Maximus on the morning of June 29; and here at a bridge—apparently over the brook Marrana[2]—swore, according to custom, to preserve the Roman republic and its laws. Processions of the clergy received him on the way. The Jews did homage through representatives of their

[1] Many blamed the King, or at least Bonsignore, for having occasioned the tumult. Niccolò says: *sed credo quod Dom. rex nil scivit. prout audivi hoc ab eo per juram. affirmari.* A notarial deed of June 22 contains the compact with the cardinals. Dönniges, *Acta*, ii. 48.

[2] *Ad pontem de la Forma* (Ferret. Vicent., 1104); ruins, perhaps, of the aqueduct of Nero? The Marrana is the only brook that flows under the Aventine.



of the banquet was disturbed by the projectiles of mocking enemies which fell even on the summit of the hill.[1]

[1] *Missi—ad scopulum Aventini Montis fundibularii.* Mussat., c. 7. Henry issued an edict against heretics. Dönniges, ii. 51. A circular letter dated the day of his coronation gives notice of this. See his letter to the King of Cyprus (*Ibid.*, p. 52), with the remarkable introduction concerning the necessity of the monarchy in the spirit of Dante. He dated a document *apud S. Sabinam* on June 30. Böhmer, *Acta Imp. Sel.*, 649.

CHAPTER II.

1. HENRY AND FREDERICK OF SICILY — THE ROMANS PREVENT THEIR EMPEROR FROM LEAVING THE CITY —ATTACK ON THE TOMB OF CECILIA METELLA— JOHN SAVIGNY, CAPTAIN OF THE ROMAN PEOPLE— THE EMPEROR IN TIVOLI—ARRIVAL OF THE POPE'S LETTER — HIS DEMANDS FROM THE EMPEROR— HENRY PRESERVES THE IMPERIAL RIGHTS—TRUCE IN ROME—DEPARTURE OF THE EMPEROR.

HENRY VII., however, in possession of the crown, rose to a full consciousness of the imperial majesty, which after a long interval he was the first to restore. His theory concerning the divine origin of imperial authority showed the Guelfs that the restoration of the imperium would entail a renewal of the struggle that it was hoped had ended with the fall of the Hohenstaufens.[1] There is no doubt that, with stronger allies, Henry VII. would have revived a bygone condition of things. This was involved in the principle of the empire which he represented.

[1] See document, *Magnus Dominus*, dated the day of the coronation: *Mon. Germ.*, iv. 535. Dönniges, ii. 52. After the coronation Henry had his seal engraved with the legend: *Ego Coronarum Corona Munidque Caput Confirmo Principi Potestatem Sibique Subjicio Civitates Gentiumque Nationes. Tueantur Aquilae Gloriam Meam Haec Roma.* Oelenschlager, *Erläuterte Staatsgeschichte*, p. 57. Barthold, ii. 22.

The resistance of the Guelfs in Rome, in Tuscany, in the Romagna, and in apostate Lombardy, the true explanation of Robert's intentions, in short, the force of events, had transformed this well-meaning Emperor into the avowed head of the Ghibellines. Like his great predecessors, he also found himself obliged to fight his adversaries with the arms of faction, and like them, far from Germany and unsupported, he was forced at length to yield in the struggle with the Italian factions. Fate repeated itself with the regularity of a law of history.

Henry's alliance with Frederick of Sicily, July 6, 1312.

As early as July 6 Henry formed an alliance with the King of Sicily, that Frederick of the house of Manfred who had so successfully defended his crown against the Pope and the Kings of Naples and France. Even at the time when Henry was carrying on upright, and Robert treacherous, negotiations for a family alliance, Frederick, through Galvan Lancia, had sued in vain from Henry for the hand of the Princess Beatrix for his son Peter. The daughter of the Emperor was betrothed in Rome by proxy to Frederick's son, and the alliance announced war between the ancient allies, the Emperor, Sicily and Pisa on one hand, and on the other Robert and also the Pope.[1]

Weapons meanwhile rested in Rome, although the Guelfs retained their fortresses. The Emperor longed to depart; his nobles, who believed the

[1] On the same 6th of July is dated the ratification of the Lausanne privilegia for the Church: *Dudum antequam. Dat. Rome apud S. Sabinam II. Non. Julii A.D. MCCCXII. Regni nri A. IV. Imperii vero nri A. I. Mon. Germ.*, iv. 536.

object of the expedition to Rome to have been attained in the coronation, were even more eager. Henry once again sought to achieve a compromise with Prince John. The Neapolitan would not even grant the envoys an interview. Bonsignore consequently assembled a parliament of the people; he explained to the Romans that the confusion of Italy, the defiance of Tuscany, and finally the heat, which the Germans found unendurable, forced the Emperor to leave the city. The people raised an outcry. Rome must not be surrendered to the enemy; the capital of the empire must first be tranquillised; the Emperor could spend the summer in neighbouring Tivoli. The Romans desired the sojourn of the imperial court in the city, which they wished again to make the seat of empire, since the Pope was at a distance; and Henry, who dreaded a revolt, declared himself ready to remain. His nobles protested, but he again took up his abode in the Torre delle Milizie.

The honour of the Emperor's presence was dearly paid for, since Henry levied a forced tax upon the people. But while his forces daily diminished, those of the enemy were increased by reinforcements from Tuscany. The Roman Guelfs defiantly scoured the country as far as the Lateran. John Savelli, Anibaldo, and Theobald of the Campo di Fiori had retired after the coronation to their fortresses in the country, where Theobald remained quiet, while the others began a petty war. Holding the tomb of Cecilia Metella and the fortress which the Gaetani had built beside it, Savelli besieged the

adjacent Porta Appia.[1] The Emperor ordered the mausoleum to be stormed, when the burgh of Capo di Bove was burnt to the ground. The palaces of the Savelli on the Aventine were also destroyed.[2]

The heat of summer, privation, insecurity, and the importunities of Germans and French meanwhile actually forced the Emperor to retire to Tivoli. He again cited all the rebellious nobles before him and placed them under the ban; he regulated the government of the city, for the term of Lewis's senatorship had expired, and as the new investiture could not be made without the Pope, the Roman people first elected a captain. This was John Savigny, a Burgundian knight in the retinue of Henry of Flanders. The Emperor confided the Capitol to his care and left his marshal with 400 knights to defend the city.[3]

[1] *Ecce vir audax et nob. Janicho Romae ortus, qui Caesari pridem obnoxius illum negarat infidus . . .* (Ferret., 1107). Janicho is John Savelli. *Porta Datia* or *Accia*, a vulgar corruption of *Appia*, is written *dazza* in the maps of the city of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. I find these names as early as 1005 in the bull of John XVIII. for *Cosma e Damiano* in Trastevere: *foris porta Appia in loco qui dicitur Actia* (*Cod. Vat.*, 7931).

[2] *Capitis Bovis moenia. quod oppid. Bonif. P. VIII. construi fecerat* (Ferret.). After his fall, the Gaetani lost the "Milizie" to the Anibaldi, the Mausoleum to the Savelli. *Caput Bovis quod castrum erat Johis de Sabello*, says Niccolò of Botronto, p. 918, and observes that John had first mortgaged (but not surrendered) this fortress to Henry, and that the Emperor now gave it and other property, which had belonged to the Savelli, to Peter, brother of John and brother-in-law of Stephen Colonna, for 20,000 marks. Niccolò wrongly speaks of this as taking place before the coronation. The *Gesta Baldewini* also mention the capture of the *Castrum Cappe de Bout* after the coronation and before Henry's removal to Tivoli on July 21.

[3] *Johes de Savigney* writes Niccolò of Botronto, p. 920. The

Tivoli, which had been a public domain of the Romans for more than fifty years, and was entirely Ghibelline, received Henry within its walls on July 21.[1] Never before had an emperor appeared before it with so scanty a retinue and in such humble guise. Almost abandoned to the protection of Stephen Colonna, who accompanied him, Henry found himself daily more and more deserted. Lewis of Savoy, the Dauphin of Vienne, the Cardinal of Ostia, Duke Rudolf of Bavaria, were no longer to be detained by any entreaties; they took their leave after four days and hastened to Viterbo and Todi with safe-conducts from Prince John. Other nobles and even lesser people followed them in secret. Only 900 knights under Count Amadeus, John of Fores, and Robert of Flanders continued under the banner of the Emperor. Henry's sojourn in Tivoli, where he dwelt in the miserable episcopal palace, was like that of an outlaw, harassed and humiliated. Anibaldo and John Savelli appeared before the gates of the town. They challenged the Emperor of the Romans to battle, and the Emperor was unable to punish their insolence. And if Henry VII. ever recognised that he had only come to Italy to roll the stone of Sisyphus, it was now in his melancholy desertion at Tivoli.

Henry VII. in Tivoli from July 21 until August 19.

Romans had asked the Emperor to appoint a Senator, but as this would have been contrary to the oath which he had taken to the Pope, he declined; the papal legate did likewise.

[1] Not on the 20th, as Böhmer registers it. The date *XII. Kal. Aug.* in Ferret. is confirmed by Gile: *Item . . . do coronuement fukes a XXI. jour de Jul, que l'empereur allat à Tybre.* So too the *Gesta Baldewini . . . XXI. die Julii Tyberburch declinavit.*

Messengers came with the Pope's belated letters, in which the conditions imposed on Henry regarding his coronation were set forth. The cardinal-legate Arnald and Luca Fieschi hastened to the King to impart the contents of these letters, according to which Clement demanded that Henry should promise never to attack Naples, to conclude a truce for a year with Robert, to quit Rome the day of the coronation, by continued marches to leave the State of the Church, and never to return without the Pope's permission. He further required that on his withdrawal Henry should not molest Prince John or any of his party, should release all prisoners, and should restore all the Roman fortresses to their owners. He required a solemn declaration that by his entry into Rome, by his imprisonment of the Roman citizens, by his occupation of fortresses and by other actions, Henry had not acquired any new right either for himself or his successors in the empire, or in any way encroached on any papal right.

The Emperor now saw before him an enemy in the person of Clement V. He could bring heavy charges against the Pope, who had made him an object of derision to the world. What right had Robert of Naples to occupy Rome and to prevent the coronation taking place in S. Peter's, thus inflicting an insult on the cardinal-legates and even on the Church herself? Why had Clement never even uttered a threat, in order to remove from the Vatican this insolent vassal of the Church? After having done nothing to deliver the Emperor from his ignominious position, the Pope imposed on him,

as on a vassal, a humiliating truce. Henry forthwith made the arrogant letter the subject of a legal enquiry. He summoned his councillors and Roman jurists, heard their decision and protested against the view that the Pope had any right to impose an armistice on the Roman emperor, especially with regard to a vassal guilty of high treason, a king with whom he was not even at war. He protested finally against the principle that before his coronation the emperor was bound to take the oath of fidelity to the pope, and firmly defended the independence of the imperial authority.[1] Thus Church and empire stood confronting each other in threatening attitude. The exaggerated demands of the Pope, who was obeying the orders of the King of France, but for that very reason opposed the Emperor with all the greater arrogance, and under Robert's influence wished to humiliate the imperial authority to the utmost, compelled the high-minded Henry to adopt towards Clement V. the policy of the Hohenstaufens.[2] He denied the Pope's right to

Strained relations between Henry VII. and the Pope.

[1] Deed of August 1 and 6, 1312, given at *Tibur in orto fratr. Minor.* Dönniges, ii. 54, 55. Raynald inveighs in his usual manner against Henry, for breaking his oath to the Pope. Neither the formula *Ferventi desiderio* of Avignon (1309), nor that of July 6, 1312 (in S. Sabina), contains a word concerning the oath of fidelity. The Emperor declared: *nos sumus et semper esse volumus defensor et pugil S. R. E. in omnib. suis jurib. sed nos non sumus astricti alicui ad juram. fidelitatis, nec unquam juram. fecimus—nec scimus quod antecessores nostri Imp. Romanor. hoc juram. unquam fecerunt.* He renounced the rights in Rome, and was ready to surrender the fortresses and palaces. The cardinals refused to accept them.

[2] Dönniges, ii. 58: *Questio an R. Pont. potuerit treugam indicere principi Romanor.*, in which it is shown that the Pope's authority

interfere in the province of secular things, asserted that the emperor was placed in full possession of his power solely by the election of the princes of the empire, disputed the Pope's authority to order his departure from Rome, which was the head of the empire and an imperial city, and appealed to Charles the Great, whose subjects the Romans had been.[1] Henry, however, was so utterly powerless, that he professed himself willing for the present to renounce war against Robert.[2] An armistice for a year, which he himself ardently desired, was agreed upon. On August 19 Henry consequently left Tivoli to march to Tuscany by way of Rome, where, even apart from the Pope's challenge, he would not have remained longer.[3] Heedless of the suspicions of his nobles, who feared that the Romans might detain

is only spiritual—*nolens autem Christus habere temporale imp. seu terrenum, quale reges temporales habent, cum cognovisset quia venturi essent Judei ut—facerent eum regem fugit iterum in montem.*

[1] *Cum Roma sit caput Imperii et de Imperio ex qua nomen accipit Imperator quia dicitur princeps Romanus.* Dönniges, ii. 64. These declarations were first made at Pisa in 1313: for at Tivoli Henry was obliged to show himself more compliant with regard to Rome. M. Villani, iii. 1, also says: *possiamo con ragione dire, che la corona dell' imperiale maestà e il suo regno, alla quale dipendea la monarchia dell' universo, era Roma coll' italiana provincia.*

[2] Robert afterwards protested against the validity of the coronation, because Henry had not fulfilled the Pope's conditions, more especially to refrain from attacking Naples. Instruction, in the Archives of Siena, Parchment n. 1387, also included in Bonaini (i. 233).

[3] On August 15 he still dates from Tivoli: Privilegium for Cardinal Nicholas of Ostia, to whom he promises 500 silver marks a year from the imperial treasury. Bonaini, i. 247. Gile says that Henry left Tivoli on August 19: *le XIX. jour d'aout, que l'empereur s'en parti.*

him by force, he paid a visit to the city, from which he wished to take an open and not dishonourable departure. Here he found his affairs going from bad to worse. True that John Anibaldi, Count of Ceccano, uncle to Stephen Colonna, had dispersed a body of Neapolitan troops in the Campagna; but the superior power of the Guelfs had not thereby been diminished. Had not the armistice afforded him security, the Emperor could neither have entered nor left Rome without danger. He made his dwelling in the Lateran, where envoys from Sicily appeared bringing him pecuniary aid. Envoys from Florence had already presented themselves at Tivoli and had held out delusive hopes of a treaty with their republic. Henry was thus deceived with joyous expectations. Above all he determined to make Tuscany, which still belonged to the empire, again subject to imperial dominion.

The Emperor assembled the leaders of the people, explained to them that, owing to the operation of the armistice, the city would soon be at peace, that in any case he had left a sufficient number of troops for their protection, and thus took leave of Rome.

Henry VII. departs from Rome, August 20, 1312.

He departed on August 20, detained by no one, by the same way that he had come. With him were Baldwin of Tréves, Amadeus of Savoy, John of Fores, Robert of Flanders, Nicholas of Botronto, the Marshal Henry, Joffred of Leiningen, Gerhard, Bishop of Constance. As he withdrew with his little band across the Ponte Molle, he saw the enemy drawn up on the neighbouring Monte Mario. They might easily have driven the Emperor back to Rome,

but they contented themselves with merely shouting him a derisive adieu. Thus with Henry's departure vanished the first favourable opportunity during the papal exile for the empire to re-establish its seat in Rome, and fulfil the hope and the ideal of Dante.

2. THE COLONNA SEIZE THE VATICAN—RECALL OF THE IMPERIAL GARRISON—RECONCILIATION BETWEEN THE COLONNA AND ORSINI—FLIGHT OF JOHN SAVIGNY —THE POPULACE OVERTHROW THE ARISTOCRATIC GOVERNMENT AND MAKE JACOPO ARLOTTI CAPTAIN —HIS ENERGETIC RULE—HENRY VII. IS INVITED BY THE PEOPLE TO MAKE HIS RESIDENCE IN ROME— CLEMENT V. RECOGNISES THE DEMOCRACY IN ROME —VELLETRI MAKES SUBMISSION TO THE CAPITOL— THE GAETANI IN THE CAMPAGNA—FALL OF THE ARLOTTI—THE EMPEROR AT WAR WITH FLORENCE —HIS PREPARATIONS AT PISA AGAINST NAPLES— THREATENING PAPAL BULL—HENRY'S DEPARTURE; HIS DEATH AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.

The departure of the Emperor was the cause of great changes in Rome. The Tuscan Guelfs also left the city on August 20, in order to return to their threatened country, and Prince John, at the request of the papal legates, withdrew to Naples.[1] The war of factions, however, still continued: Colonna and Orsini met in daily conflict, and the Ghibellines

[1] Soon after the coronation the Florentines feared that Henry would turn against Tuscany. As early as July 4, 1312, they wrote to Robert, that in such case he should order the prince to come to Tuscany. Archives of Florence, *Signori. Carteggio*, vol. i. fol. 148. *Chron. Sanese*, Mur., xv. 47.

acquired the upper hand. Count Hugo of Bucheck, whom the Emperor had left behind with 300 men, and Stephen Colonna were able to force their way to the Vatican, to expel the Orsini, and to occupy S. Peter's, for which the Emperor had so long striven in vain, but which had now become unimportant.[1] The Pope, however, had no desire that the Ghibellines should acquire dominion in Rome, nor did he wish that a shadow of imperial authority should remain in the city. On the contrary, he required from Henry the withdrawal of his troops, after Robert on his side had recalled his. Henry unwillingly acquiesced; he summoned Bucheck to Tuscany, and the Colonna thus found themselves abandoned by the Emperor, while the Orsini also complained that Robert had deserted them.[2]

Reconciliation between the Colonna and Orsini.

The recognition of the aimlessness of the war between their factions now inclined the Orsini and Colonna to a reconciliation. The nobles foresaw their approaching fate; they dreaded being deprived of their privileges by the people, who, during Henry's presence, had given so many proofs of their independent will. The aristocrats agreed to renounce all feuds, to form alliances by intermarriage, and finally to return to the old system, by which two senators chosen from either party were elected. John of Savigny still sat as Senator on the Capitol, which was now without any protection. The Colonna did not prevent the expulsion of Henry's vicar by the Orsini, and Savigny fled to the Emperor, who was

[1] *Alb. Argentinens. Chron.* in Urstisius, p. 110.

[2] Instrument of Arezzo, September 10, 1312, in Dönniges, ii. 67.

encamped at S. Salvi near Fiesole, with the tidings that Rome was lost to him through the desertion of his adherents.[1]

Francesco Orsini, son of Matthew of Monte Giordano, and the brave Sciarra Colonna were now made Senators, and the citizens, forsaken by the Emperor, again found themselves in the power of those insolent nobles, whose only aim was their own advantage. They assembled in the streets, made peace among themselves, and, in the unanimity of their distress, courageously seized their weapons.[2] It was now evident that whenever they pursued one common object the will of the people was irresistible. A deputation brought the demands of the people before the nobles; namely, participation in the government by means of magistrates (Captain and Anziani) elected by the people. Their proposal was declined, and the populace made such a furious attack on the Capitol that the Senators fled without offering any resistance. The strongest fortresses of the city surrendered to the same popular fury, the Castle of S. Angelo, the Torre delle Milizie, and the island of the Tiber. Jacopo, son of John Arlotti of the house of Stefaneschi in Trastevere, was proclaimed Captain of the people amid glad shouts of liberty, and was led to the Capitol, where a Council of twenty-six representative men was appointed

Jacopo Arlotti, Captain of the people

[1] Ferret. Vincent., 1112. Henry lay between Fiesole and Florence from September 19 until October 31, during which interval Savigny's banishment and arrival took place.

[2] *Non sic inolevisse auctoritatem Tribunitiae potestatis, ut plebs violata intolerabile jugum ferens indignis succumbat obsequiis.* Mussat., xi. c. 12, relates these events with contempt.

beside him. Arlotti mounted the tribunal, and summoned the aristocrats before him, and they appeared.[1] The heads of the Orsini, who had mocked at the Emperor with impunity, stood trembling before a captain of the people, and no less submissive were the celebrated heads of the Colonna, who had formerly overthrown Boniface VIII. and led Henry VII. to Rome. Gentile, Poncellus, Poncelletus, the ex-Senator Francis, the illustrious Stephen, the dreaded ex-Senator Sciarra, Jordan Colonna, John and Peter Savelli, Anibaldo Anibaldi, and other nobles were put in chains and thrown into the prisons of the Capitol as guilty of crimes against the people. It was only by ardent entreaties and upon adequate security that Arlotti was persuaded to release the enemies of the public welfare, instead of depriving them of their heads, which would perhaps have been the better alternative. He banished them from the city to their estates under pain of death if they should quit their territories.[2]

The people rejoiced over its first victory following after so long and miserable an interval. Another Brancaleone had arisen; and it is probable enough

[1] Vigorously described by Mussatus: *Ad tribunal ergo conscendens, vultu, gestibusq. metuendus, ad se accersiri undique jussit insignes.* A prototype of Cola di Rienzo. Arlotti had been podestà of Todi in 1305.

[2] *Quos tandem paene exorabilis multis cautionibus e vinculis ad municipia relegavit, capitali adjecta inde degredientibus poena.* How full of vicissitudes was the life of a Roman citizen at this time! Consider the varied fortunes that Stephen Colonna had already experienced, and those which still awaited this celebrated man!

that the new Captain of the people took the celebrated Senator as his model. A cultured Ghibelline historian of this period laments that Arlotti revived the decree for the destruction of the palaces, which had formerly been issued by the Count of Andalò when he resolved to uproot the power of the despots in the city. The populace attacked the fortresses of their oppressors; they destroyed the Torre Monzone at the Ponte Rotto, and nought but the solidity of the ancient masonry saved the Mausoleum of Hadrian, the property of the Orsini. Many ancient monuments, many ornaments of the city, now met with their destruction.[1]

The sudden change in Rome entirely resembled the revolutions which were repeated in Florence whenever the populace overthrew the nobility. Citizens and artisans now ruled on the Capitol as guardians of the laws. But the youthful democracy was conscious of its weakness, and therefore hastened to place itself under the protection of the very Emperor who was not recognised by the nobles. Rome was declared an imperial city by a plebiscite, and Henry was summoned to return to the Capitol, and permanently to establish his seat there. It was only necessary that the Roman Emperor should recognise that he had received his power from the

The populace declare Rome an imperial city.

[1] *Ut si quid. Brancaleonem — qui Regum ac Ducum — palatia, thermas, fana, columnas verterat in ruinas, ipso memorabilior superaret, ad demolienda eminentia quaeque nova ac vetera insurrexit; Monzonem turrim scil. secus S. Mariae pontem, cum oppositis ad alter. latum valvis. uno momento sub plebis furore diripiens:* Mussatus. If the Monzone was the building which still exists at the Ponte Rotto, it cannot have been wholly destroyed.

authority of the people.[1] This memorable decree was due not only to the despair of the burghers, who thought in the imperial court to obtain amends for the loss of the papal, and hoped also for the restoration of peace; it was also inspired by the Ghibelline belief that Rome was the legal source of the imperial majesty. It pointed to events in the near future, when this municipal principle of law evoked one of the most curious revolutions. The Roman people, therefore, invited the Emperor to make his seat in Rome; for why should he not erect his throne here when the Pope absented himself, contrary to law and duty? Henry's reply to the Romans is unknown. Experience had, however, taught him that in Rome the emperor could only expect the same fate as the popes, probably one even worse. Neither he nor any contemporary foresaw the long duration of the exile at Avignon; it was quite certain that sooner or later the pope must return, since only as Bishop of Rome was he the head of Christendom. Henry VII. never seriously contemplated making Rome again the political head of the empire. Had he succeeded in becoming master of Tuscany, it is probable that he would instead have made Florence or Pisa his imperial abode. Such, in fact, appears to have been his intention. Nevertheless the proposals of the Roman people were even now of importance,

[1] *Dum sola Tribunitia, exterminatis Patribus, potestas adolevisset illo sub magistratu—omnia haec parari Caesari, ipsum evocandum in Urbem, vehendumque triumphaliter in Capitolium, principatum ab sola plebe recognituruum.* Mussatus.

since the restoration of his authority in Rome would be valuable in the highest degree in case of a warlike expedition against Naples.

For the rest Clement hastened to recognise the Roman revolution in order that he might not irritate the people against himself. True, that under threat of penalties of the Church, he required the Captain of the people to restore to the Church the fortresses which he had occupied in the patrimony. On February 10, however, at the request of the envoys sent by the Romans, he confirmed him as Senator and Captain. He even openly expressed his satisfaction that, owing to the exertions of the people, peaceful conditions had been restored. Clement was shrewd and circumspect; he did not meddle too deeply in the affairs of the city, and, provided the principle of the supremacy of the Church was preserved, he recognised accomplished facts. Such, on the whole, remained the policy of the Avignonese popes, to whom the weakening of the nobility was welcome.[1]

The P recogn the R democ Feb. 1 1313.

Arlotti governed with exemplary energy. In order to keep at a distance the Neapolitans who had been summoned by the Orsini, he entered into alliance with the Ghibellines of the Campagna.

[1] First letter, January 27: *Senatori et Capit. ac Consilio et Po. Ro.* (Theiner, i. n. 631). Second and third letters, February 10 (n. 632, 633): *Dil. fil. nob. viro Jacobo q. Johis Arlocti, Senatori et Capit. Urbis;* in the same form *Dil. fil. universis nobilib. Urbis, et viginti sex bonis viris ad reform. Urbis special. deputatis, ac Majori Consilio, Senatui et Po. Ro.* The *Concil. majus* consisted of the *Consules artium et centum quatuor, videl.* 8 *per quamlib. region. urbis*, as the compact with Velletri of November 13, 1312, shows.

The Count of Ceccano, the head of the imperial party in that district, conquered Ceprano, where Robert's troops were stationed, and waged war on the Guelfs, at first successfully. Velletri was received under the protectorate of Rome, and even made a public domain of the Capitol. This city, invariably devoted to the Church, under the protectorate of the popes and their bishops, hitherto independent alike of barons and of the Capitol, now entered into the same relationship towards Rome that Tivoli had assumed in the time of Brancaleone. The inhabitants of Velletri henceforward received their podestà from the Capitol for six months, and another Roman as their voluntarily elected judge; henceforward they sent representatives to the public games in Rome, and annually, on the day of the Assumption of the Virgin, one of the most solemn festivals in the city (called *Mezz' Agosto*), brought two wax candles as tribute. Like the Tivolese, they finally ordained that no barons should reside within the territory of their city. The political power of the Capitol was thus increased by the absence of the Pope.[1]

Velletri yields subjection to the Capitol.

The banished nobles now contemplated the fall

[1] Document in *L. Cardinali Auton. di Velletri nel sec. XIV.* (*Atti d. soc. letter. Volsca*, 1839, iii. 245). The podestà, a *civis Roman.*, was bound to keep one notary, six *birruarios*, besides a shield-bearer and two horses. Appeal was made to the Capitol in all disputes involving upwards of twenty-five pounds Provins. Velletri was exempt from the Roman monopoly of salt. *Item quod comune Velletri faciat ludum testacie more solito.* The Statutes of the city remained in force. *Acta sunt hec rome in palatio capitolii in Sala ante cam. Senator. sub A.D.* 1312. *Ind. X. die XIII. m. nov. . . . Et ego Lucas q. Joannis de Fuscis de Berta etc., scriba sacri senatus.*

of the democracy, and a victory of the Guelfs lent them unhoped for strength. For Richard of Ceccano was utterly defeated by the counts palatine of the house of Boniface VIII. After the fall of Boniface the Gaetani had entirely lost their influence in Rome; they had retired to their fiefs in Campania, where they incessantly prosecuted their vindictive war against the Colonna and other Ghibellines, although the Pope, obedient to the will of the King of France, had renounced all suits against the enemies of Boniface in Campania.[1] As vassals of the crown of Naples, as Counts of Fundi and Caserta, the Gaetani served in Robert's army, and henceforward began to acquire great influence in Naples. The heads of the family were at this time Loffred, first Count of Fundi, and his brother Benedict, Count Palatine in Tuscany, where he claimed the right of occupation of the county of the Aldobrandeschi, but handed it over to the powerful city of Orvieto.[2] After they had conquered the Counts of Ceccano, the whole of Latium once more recognised the authority of Robert, whose troops had again crossed the Liris. This defeat scattered the imperialists in the Campagna, and produced a disastrous effect on Rome. With the same rapidity with which the democratic revolution had been accomplished, the opposite party again overthrew the government.

[1] By the bull from Vienne of April 20, 1312 (*Reg. Clem. V.*, n. 8248); on the same day he had made peace between Anagni, Alatri, and the Counts Palatine Loffred and Benedict Gaetani. Theiner, i. 625.

[2] Fumi, *Cod. Dipl. di Orv.*, p. 407. Act of April 1, 1313, Anagni.

Arlotti and the popular government are overthrown, Feb. 1313.

The aristocrats successfully executed a master stroke; they entered the city at dusk and invaded the Capitol. In vain the bells rang an alarm; the astonished citizens arrived too late, and timidly returned to their houses when the mournful news rapidly spread through Rome that their valiant Senator and Captain was in chains. The Senators who had been expelled in October (Francesco Orsini and Sciarra Colonna) forthwith resumed their seats on the Capitol, and after a short dream of freedom the Roman people again fell under the yoke of the vindictive nobility.[1]

Thus were the hopes of the Emperor frustrated in Rome. Henry VII. had indeed more reason than many of his predecessors to denounce Fortune, who was ever hostile towards him. After leaving Rome he had withdrawn by Viterbo, Todi, and Cortona to Ghibelline Arezzo.[2] He had there (on September 12, 1312) summoned King Robert to appear before his tribunal within three months on a charge of high treason. Waging incessant war with the Guelf fortresses of Tuscany, he appeared before Florence

[1] Alb. Mussat., xi. c. 12. The revolution must have taken place at the end of February, and consequently soon after the Pope's letter of the 10th reached Rome. *Jacobus Dni Johis de Columpna dictus Sciarra et Franciscus Dni Matthei de filiis Ursi dei gr. alme urbis Senatores III.*, confirm the Statute of the Merchants as early as March 8, 1313.

[2] He came to Todi on August 27, 1312; on August 30 he marched against Perugia with troops from Todi and Spoleto. He burnt thirty-six fortresses and villas and presented them to these two cities. On September 8 he went to *Castello delle Forme*, then to Cortona. *Memorie di Todi* of Lucalberto Petti, *ad A.* 1312, in the Archives of S. Fortunatus.

on September 19, strengthened by reinforcements from Ghibelline cities, intending to conquer a republic whose resistance shattered all his plans. The beautiful and wealthy city on the Arno, more tenacious than Milan in its hatred of the German imperium, stood at the head of the great Guelf league, which stretched from Lombardy to Rome, and to which King Robert extended his hand. The firm demeanour of the Guelf republic, composed as it was of usurers, merchants, and cloth manufacturers, merits the highest admiration. Henceforward, Florence was worthy to represent Italian independence.[1] The city was well defended, was filled with its own and allied troops, and had more than twice the strength of the enemy.[2] It laughed at the exertions of the Emperor, who did not understand how to utilise his first victory, and who was soon prostrated by fear and depression.

Henry VII.'s unsuccessful war against Florence.

It is painful to follow the unsuccessful marches of Henry VII., the sieges and the hideous devastations of fortresses and farms. They only add to the series of ancient and ever-repeated scourges of the

[1] *E di vero la parte guelfa è fondamento e rocca ferma e stabile della libertà d'Italia, e contraria a tutte le tirannie*, says M. Villani, viii. c. 24.

[2] According to the list of the Florentine auxiliaries (Villani, ix. c. 47), there were 4000 cavalry and innumerable infantry in Florence. The Emperor had 800 German and 1000 Italian horse, besides the infantry of Rome, the March, Spoleto, Arezzo, the Romagna, the Counts Guido and S. Fiora, and the Florentine exiles; according to John de Cerm., 1200 horse and 8000 foot. Dante had mocked at the new fortifications of Florence: *quid vallo sepsisse—juvabit, cum advolaverit aquila in aura terribilis?* (Ep. vi.). It did not, however, fly over the walls.

kind, without being enhanced by any heroic deed of arms. Henry had come to Italy with exalted dreams of peace, and in the short space of a year had himself been changed beyond recognition. Forced to descend into the arena of party passions, and to exhaust his strength in petty wars within the narrow theatre of Tuscany, he had degenerated from the Messiah of peace into a ruthless destroyer, execrated by the unfortunate peasantry with a hatred equal to that which Barbarossa or Frederick II. had formerly provoked. In vain the banks of the Arno were dyed with blood, and the gardens of Tuscany transformed by savage warriors into a desert. After raising the sieges of Fiesole and Florence, Henry remained at the neighbouring San Casciano during the winter months. At the beginning of 1313 he withdrew to Poggibonzi, a Ghibelline stronghold, which the Guelfs had destroyed and which he now caused to be rebuilt under the name of *Mons Imperialis*. No German warrior princes were any longer to be found in his camp; only the Bishops Baldwin and Nicholas, his valiant Marshal Henry, Count Hugo of Bucheck, and some other nobles remained faithful. Among the Italians his most zealous adherents were Amadeus of Savoy, Frederick of Montefeltro, son of the celebrated Guido, and Uguccio, Count of Faggiola, a brave Ghibelline captain, who now entered on a distinguished career. Although strengthened by five hundred horse and three thousand infantry from Pisa, and by a thousand Genoese archers, the Emperor was unable to achieve anything; his army melted away, and the privations

caused by the devastated state of the country became intolerable. In the beginning of March he went to the faithful city of Pisa, where the people, exhausted by taxation, no longer extended him the same welcome as before. He remained here for months, engaged in active preparations for war, the basis of which was to be the republic of Pisa, as centre of the whole Ghibelline league. The ban which he pronounced against the Guelf cities and the long proscription list of their citizens made as little impression as the action which he brought against Robert. He deposed this king by imperial decree as an enemy of the empire, a rebel and traitor to all its crowns and dignities, and sentenced him to death at the hands of the executioner.[1] Robert protested in a manifesto in which he declared war as heir of the "unconquered lion," Charles of Anjou, successor to the Hohenstaufen Frederick, Manfred, and Conradin.[2]

Henry VII. in Pisa from March 10 until Aug. 8, 1313.

Henry's mind was now tortured by one single idea, that of punishing the king and annihilating the house of Anjou. Here was a page in the annals of the empire to be filled with a splendid act of justice; here the noble Luxemburger could honourably seat himself, as the avenger of ancient blood-guiltiness, on the ruins of the throne of Charles of Anjou.[3] Was this work impossible? Assuredly

[1] Document *Deus judex*, of April 26, 1313, from Pisa, *Mon. Germ.*, iv. 545. The proceedings against Robert in Kopp, *Gesch. der eidgenössischen Bünde, König und Kaiser Heinrich und seine Zeit.*, iv. 317. The Emperor was in Pisa from March 10 until August 8, 1313.

[2] Dönniges, ii. 235, undated; Kopp, p. 323.

[3] Henry seriously intended to behead Robert, if the king fell into

not; since Pisa, Genoa, and Sicily, all the Ghibellines of Italy equipped their fleets and armies in order to make war on Naples according to a common plan. Friendly cities provided money, and even the German empire, to which Baldwin of Tréves had been sent, with self-denial declared itself ready to support its Emperor. His son John of Bohemia was about to cross the Alps with an auxiliary army.

Clement V., trembling at the thought that the dynasty of Anjou, the support of the Church in Italy, might be overthrown, hastened to avert the ruin of King Robert. On June 12 he issued a bull, in which he threatened with excommunication all who should enter on war with the King of Naples or attack this fief of the Church.[1] When the document was handed to the Emperor he complained that it was the work of his enemies, especially of the King of France. He summoned a Parliament; he explained that his preparations had no reference to the property of the Church, which, on the contrary, he would defend, but to the rights of the empire. He disputed at the same time the claims of the Church over Naples and Sicily; the emperor was by right lord of the world, and consequently, this country also belonged to the empire.[2] Thus the idealistic theory of the Ghibellines, which held that

Clement V. prohibits the enterprise against Naples, June 12, 1313.

his hands. All the Germans in the imperial army desired the execution to appease the manes of Conradin. Niccolò of Botronto, *ad fin.*

[1] Bull, *dat. ap. Castrum novum Aven. Dioec. II. Id. Junii, A. VIII.* Raynald, n. 21.

[2] *Regnum Sicilie et specialiter Insula Sicilie sicut et cetere provincie sunt de Imperio—totus enim mundus imperatoris est.* Dönniges, ii. 65.

the power of the emperor embraced the whole earth, found its last exponent in the high-minded but powerless Luxemburger, who, had life allowed him time, would have waged prolonged wars for the imperial right against the Papacy and Italy. In order to induce the Pope to assume a more friendly attitude, he sent the Bishops of Trent and Butronto to Avignon. His resolve to attack Naples with all his strength landed him, in regard to the Pope, in as difficult a position as that in which Otto IV. had formerly been placed, when the Guelf emperor undertook to dethrone the *protégé* of Innocent III. There was consequently no longer any way of reconciliation; the excommunication from which there was no escape hung over his head. When Robert now saw the preparations of the Emperor and the alliance of so many enemies, he recognised that the enterprise was more serious than Conradin's expedition. He was assailed by such anxiety that he already contemplated escaping the danger by flight to Avignon. Taught by his own mistakes, Henry determined no longer to waste his strength in besieging cities, but quickly to march on the centre of Naples. The conquest of this kingdom would have made him ruler of the whole of Italy. He had already collected 2500 horse in Pisa, chiefly Germans, and 1500 Italians, besides a large force of infantry. This fact determined him to wait no longer for the expected imperial army. The Genoese had sent sixty galleys under Lamba Doria to the harbour of Pisa, and twenty Pisan vessels accompanied them to the island of Ponza, while

Frederick of Sicily left Messina on the appointed day with fifty galleys and took Reggio in Calabria. The Emperor sent letters to the Ghibelline towns of Umbria and Tuscany, informed them that he was advancing with strength both by sea and land against Rome, where he expected to arrive about August 15, and summoned them to send him troops.[1]

Henry VII. departs for Naples on Aug. 8, 1313.

He set forth on August 8, 1313. His object was to go by way of Tuscany to Rome, where he had sent Henry of Blankenburg to collect Ghibellines and to prepare him a dwelling in the Vatican; then to join the Sicilians and Genoese at Terracina.[2] The plan was faultless, the success probable, since the united strength of the republics of Pisa and Genoa with Sicily and the Emperor's army formed such a powerful combination as had seldom been united before for the attack of Naples. The Ghibellines were consequently filled with the gladdest anticipations. One thing, however, was unforeseen. The Emperor was seriously ill when he mounted his horse. The exertions of the campaign, the air of

[1] *H. dei gr. R. I., semp. Aug. dil. dev. suis potestati et coi. interamnen. Cum jam simus in procintu dirigendi duce deo vers. Romam pro magnis et arduis nris et Impii negotiis gressus nros et ibi circa XV^am^ diem p. m. Aug. cum exercitu nro non solum per terram sed etiam per mare proponamus esse, devotionem quam vos ad maiest. nram habere confidimus attente requirimus et rogamus, quatenus armator. comitivam quam poteritis, dictis die et loco, vel saltem extunc sine dilatione, ubi nos esse audieritis ad nram celsitud. transmittatis, vre dilectionis et devotionis affectum quem ad nos et Imper. habetis, hac vice per oper. evidentiam ostensuri, et speraturi vos a nob. exinde consequi gratiam et honorem. Dat. Pisis, Kal. Aug. Regni nri A. V. Imp. vero II.* In the City Archives of Terni.

[2] Nicol., *Specialis Histor. Sicula.*



the Maremma, excitement, disillusion, and accumulated troubles had exhausted the powers of the noble Henry. They suddenly collapsed as he approached the neighbourhood of Siena, which city he blockaded.

At the little village of Buonconvento six miles distant, Henry VII. lay down to die. He received the Communion from the hand of a Dominican monk, took a touching farewell of his soldiers, and passed away on August 24, 1313, fifty-one years old. His end was profoundly tragic. At the head of a great army, already on the march, at the beginning of a new and presumably honourable career, encouraged by hopes which for the first time seemed well founded, Henry was snatched away by death.[1] His friends, the companions of his battles, nobles of Germany and Ghibellines of Italy, stood in deepest sorrow round the dying man. The restoration of the empire, the revenge of the Hohenstaufens, the conquest of Naples, the victory and power of the Ghibelline party, all was now a dream. The army fell a prey to wild despair. Rumour asserted that the Emperor had received poison in the host. The Germans rushed to the convent and stabbed the monks.[2] The army began

Death of Henry VII., Aug. 24, 1313.

[1] His death was a divine judgment in the eyes of Mussatus and the Guelfs. The Church always had the good fortune to find demonstrations *ad hominem* for her doctrines.

[2] Ferret., p. 1117. The belief that Henry had been poisoned by a monk gave rise to a prolonged dispute. Kopp, "Kaiser Heinrich VII. ist nicht vergiftet worden," *Geschichtsblätter der Schweiz*, i. 122. Nic. Botront., Ferretus, Mussatus, Joh. Victoriensis, Ptol. of Lucca, Villani, Cermenate, reject the story of death by poison. In 1346 John of Bohemia gave the Dominicans a certificate, absolving them from the charge. Leibnitz, *Cod. Jur. Gent.*, i. 188.

to disperse. The Ghibellines from Arezzo, the Marches, and the Romagna forsook the camp in terror; only the Pisans and Germans remained. Their ranks dissolved in bitterest grief under the guidance of the Marshal Henry. The dead Emperor was carried on his bier through the Maremma back to Pisa. The Pisans, who had spent such vast sums, and had staked such lofty hopes on Henry's enterprise, received the dead with lamentations of despair. The entire city resounded with the cries of grief. Never had an Italian city thus bewailed a German emperor. The remains were interred in a marble sarcophagus in the cathedral, and Pisa has ever since regarded Henry's coffin as a sacred treasure. The noble Ghibelline city received therein the legacy of the German empire and the monument of its reverent loyalty. The sarcophagus now stands in the Campo Santo, the world-renowned churchyard, which the masterpieces of famous artists and the tombs of ancient and modern times have combined to render one of the most beautiful temples of historic memory.[1] There Henry of Luxemburg rests as the last imperial sacrifice offered by the German Fatherland to the soil of Italy, with which it was united by centuries of a great though bloody history. Round his grave are gathered the figures of many mighty emperors,

Dismay of the Ghibellines.

[1] Above the sarcophagus, adorned with Christian imagery in relief, rests the figure of the Emperor, a work which shows a surprisingly sudden decay of art after Nicola Pisano. Corio, *Storia di Milano*, ii. 413, asserts that the Emperor's heart was buried in the tomb of his wife at Genoa, that his bones were afterwards brought to Germany.

whom one and the same intellectual tendency carried across the Alps. Their expeditions from Germany to Rome marked the continuous path of those centuries; their tombs are the milestones in the road of one continuous history marching forwards with epic dignity. The appearance of the seventh Henry, the last representative of the all-embracing imperial ideal, illuminates the history of Italy with an electric radiance which can never be extinguished while Dante's poetry survives. The enthusiastic homage paid to him by the noblest spirit of the country is at the same time the strongest testimony to the historic necessity of the imperial idea in the Middle Ages, which came to a close with this poet and this Emperor. Dante, whose political hopes expired with Henry VII., dedicated to him a touching lament in the *Paradiso*, where he saw, lying on the throne, the crown destined for the "noble Henry" in heaven.[1] If to the great poet the Emperor's death seemed premature and a cruel accident, calm reflection will recognise that the goal of Henry's desires was practically impossible, because condemned by the spirit of the age and only an idealist dream. Not even a Charles the

[1] *In quel gran seggio, a che tu gli occhi tieni*
Per la corona che già v' è su posta,
Prima che tu a queste nozze ceni,
Sederà l'alma che fu già augusta
Dell' alto Arrigo, ch' a dirizzare Italia
Verrà in prima ch' ella sia disposta.

Beatrice shows him this throne as destined for Henry, but the poet cannot yet speak of the Emperor's death, since the time of his wanderings in the under-world and heaven is placed in the year 1300. *Parad.*, xxx.

Great could have realised it now. All contemporaries have extolled the Luxemburger as a prince of magnanimous character, and never perhaps did an emperor cross the Alps with equally pure and lofty aims. But the troubles of Italy were too deeply rooted for him to cure. Both contemporaries and after generations have, however, admitted that if ever those troubles could have been healed, no other man would have been better qualified to act as the saviour of Italy.[1] Henry VII. died at the right time to save the world from an error, and himself, perhaps, from the world's hatred—an unsuccessful Italian Messiah, leaving no trace of his actions.

Seldom has the influence exercised on human affairs by the fall of a prominent man been so deeply felt as now, when the news of Henry's death paralysed some, and plunged others from the depth of fear into transports of joy. The Pope and King Robert breathed freely. The camps of the Guelfs resounded with joy. All the Guelf cities were illuminated. An annual festival was ordained in honour of S. Bartholomew, for Henry VII. had been removed on the anniversary of the day of August on which Conradin had lost his crown at Tagliacozzo.[2] Great as the joy among the Guelfs

Guelf rejoicings.

[1] *Se i mali straordinarii dell' Italia erano allora capaci di rimedio, non si potea scegliere Medico più a proposito di questo.* Muratori, *Annal., ad A.* 1313.

[2] *Admirabilis haec mortalibus, et veluti fatalis notata loci ac diei intervenientium identitas, cui admirationi Corradini de Stoph. adjiciebatur ejusd. S. Bertholomaei memoranda festivitas, qua et ipse in Italia ab Carolo rege conflictus post supplicium sustulit.* Mussat., xvi. c. 8, and *De gest. Italicor. post. Henr.*, i. c. 1.

was the despair in the Ghibelline camps. Frederick of Sicily, Robert's hereditary enemy, filled with hopes of victory, had brought his fleet to Gaeta, where he expected the Emperor. On receiving the appalling tidings he hastened to Pisa, accompanied by the Count of Savoy, the remaining German nobles, and the heads of the republic. Manfred's grandson stood in deepest grief beside the coffin of the Emperor, who was to have been his life-long ally and his father-in-law, and with whose aid he had hoped to acquire the throne of Naples.[1] He now exhorted the Germans to adhere faithfully to the scheme of war and with him to continue the great undertaking, but, hesitating and discouraged, they refused. They hastened home, where the imperial army under John of Bohemia, accompanied by Beatrix, the Emperor's mother, was already on the march, but now halted and dispersed in Swabia. Only a thousand men of Henry's forces remained in the pay of the Pisans. They formed—to the great misfortune of Tuscany—the first of those "bands" of foreign mercenaries which were soon to become the scourge of Italy. In their despair the Pisans implored Frederick of Sicily to assume the signory of their republic. Manfred's grandson put forward great demands, more especially in relation to Sardinia; they were

[1] *Cecidit corona capitis nostri*, the Pisans cried to Frederick, *ad hanc vocem intonuit aer plangoribus et foemineo ululatu repletus est.* Nicol., *Specialis*, vii. 2. The chief source of grief was undoubtedly the useless expense to which Pisa had been put, and which was estimated at two million gold florins. Baluze, *Miscell.*, i. 453.

not agreed to, and recognising that the cause of the Ghibellines was lost, he returned to Sicily. Pisa now offered the command to the Count of Savoy, then to the Marshal of Flanders. Both also returned home. But a courageous man, Count Ugo della Faggiola, accepted the offered power. The Pisans summoned him from Genoa, where he had been vicar for the Emperor. Ugo became lord of Pisa, leader of the German mercenaries, and soon the celebrated head of the Ghibellines of Tuscany, who saw their only salvation in this experienced captain.[1]

Ugo della Faggiola becomes head of the Ghibellines.

The undertaking against Naples consequently came to nought. The Ghibellines, dispersed in flight, or irresolute within their cities, fell back into their former impotence, and King Robert, the powerful head of all the Guelfs, soon acquired—not by his own ability but by the gift of fortune—a greater influence in Italy than that which even Charles, his grandfather, had acquired after the fall of Conradin.

[1] Ferret. Vicent., p. 1118; Villani, ix. 53, 54. The Germans carried banners with portraits of Conradin's head: *sub signo capitis Chunradi, innocenter olim in illis partibus interempti, saepius triumphant:* Joh. Victor., Böhmer, *Font.*, i. 378.

3. THE GHIBELLINE CAMP AFTER HENRY'S DEATH—POWER OF KING ROBERT—CLEMENT V. DECLARES HIMSELF RULER OF THE VACANT EMPIRE—HIS DEATH—HIS SERVILITY TO FRANCE — THE KNIGHTS TEMPLARS SACRIFICED—END OF THE TRIAL OF BONIFACE VIII. — THE CARDINALS: THEIR NATIONAL ANTAGONISM, THEIR INTERRUPTED CONCLAVE AT CARPENTRAS — JOHN XXII., POPE — LEWIS THE BAVARIAN AND FREDERICK THE FAIR—KING ROBERT GOVERNS ROME — CONSEQUENCES TO THE CITY OF THE POPE'S ABSENCE.

Henry's expedition to Rome had given fresh nourishment to the war of factions and rendered it incurable. Although the Ghibellines had fallen into evil plight, they still held the imperial banner erect in four places in Italy: in Sicily, where Frederick was sufficiently strong to resist Robert; in Pisa, where Ugo della Faggiola vigorously defended himself and even speedily subjugated Lucca; in Lombardy, where the astute Matthew Visconti had been exalted by Henry on the ruins of the house of della Torre in Milan; while at Verona, owing to the favour of the same Emperor, the family of the Scaligers also rose to power, and in the young Can della Scala, the patron of Dante, now acquired a celebrated head. These Ghibelline strongholds set a limit to the power of the King of Naples, and prevented him from bringing the whole of Italy under his sceptre. For almost all the Guelf cities recognised his authority; and even Florence, in fear of the Emperor, had confided the

signory to his hands in June 1313. This republic consequently was also administered by royal vicars.

Far from Italy and dependent on the King of France, Clement V. threw himself into the arms of Robert, whose ambitious views he unhesitatingly supported. He loaded him with dignities and privileges. He bestowed Ferrara upon him, and in the autumn of 1313 even made him Senator of Rome. Here, however, the same Orsini, who had prepared for flight on the news of Henry's second expedition, were still in power. Some of their adversaries had left the city, and Rome, which had fallen without opposition under the dominion of the Guelfs, now did homage to Robert and received Ponzello Orsini as his vicar on the Capitol. Rome was henceforth for some years ruled by representatives of the King of Naples, as in the time of Charles of Anjou.[1] The Pope did not rest satisfied with these evidences of favour towards his serviceable vassal. As if ruler of the empire, he annulled by a bull issued on March 14, 1314, the ban which Henry VII. had pronounced on Robert. With reference to the Emperor's hesitation to recognise his vows to the Church as an oath of fidelity, Clement V. had issued a declaration pro-

King Robert, Senator of Rome in the autumn of 1313.

[1] Mussat., *de gestis Italicor.*, i. c. 2; Mur., x. 574. *Poncellus de fil. Ursi dei gra. Alme Urbis III. regius in Urbe Vicarius* ratifies the Statute of the Merchants on January 11, 1314. On March 20 and December 27, 1314, *Guilielmus Scarrerrii miles consiliarius* confirms the Statute as vicar of the King. On April 23, 1315, *Gerardus Spinola de Luculo.* The same man is wrongly called *Adoardus* in a letter from the Florentines to him, dated March 25, 1315. Archives of Florence, Class x., *Dist.*, i. n. 8.

nouncing the oath taken by the kings of Rome to be in fact an oath of vassalage or fidelity; whence followed the theory that the pope, as the true ruler of the empire, had the right of assuming the government during the vacancy of the throne. Clement consequently appointed King Robert imperial vicar of Italy, upon condition that he would renounce the office two months after the confirmation of the new King of the Romans.[1] Clement's decrees exalted into a canon law views which had only been expressed by earlier popes since the time of Innocent III. They were the necessary conclusion of all preceding attacks on the imperial power, and thus the Papacy had arrived at a point which could not be overstepped, unless it actually nominated the emperor. A violent opposition arose among all adherents of the empire in Germany as well as in Italy, and awoke fresh disputes in the spheres of constitutional law and the political world.

Clement V. usurps the imperial authority.

Clement V. meanwhile died on April 20, 1314, at Roquemaure in Languedoc, mourned by none except his relatives and favourites, accused by contemporaries and posterity as a pope who had obtained the sacred chair by simony, who yielded himself as servant to the King of France, who removed the Papacy from Rome, its consecrated seat, placed it

Death of Clement V., April 20, 1314.

[1] *Chron. Regiense*, Murat., xviii. 26. For the bull *Pastoralis cura*, in which the Pope annuls Henry's sentence on Robert, see Dönniges, ii. 241. For the declaration of the Pope concerning the oath of fidelity, see Ptol. Luc., Mur., xi. 1241, and the decree *Romani Principes*, Clementin., lib. ii. t. ix. Bull appointing Robert vicar of the empire, *dat. Montiliis Carpentor. Dioces. II. Id. Martii a. IX.*, in Raynald, *ad A.* 1314, n. 2.

under bondage in France, and filled the cardinals' college with Frenchmen, thus sowing the seeds of the later schism. He had also to bear the heavier reproach, that by his excessive nepotism, as well as by the avaricious accumulation of wealth by dishonourable means, he had introduced those abuses into the Church which have made the residence in Avignon so notorious. Of all the actions of this Gascon—an astute and dishonest politician—none has left a deeper impression on the minds of men than the decree for the suppression of the Templars, issued at the Council of Vienne. Clement was forced to sacrifice these wealthy knights to the cupidity of King Philip, in order at this price to save the Church from the public stigma that would have been cast upon her in the alleged heresy of Boniface VIII.[1] For Philip demanded the sacrifice, and Clement V., who had hastened to revoke the notorious bull *Unam Sanctam* with regard to France, had been obliged to agree to the renewal of the ostentatious trial of the dead pope. It was admitted at the Council of Vienne that Boniface VIII. had died in the Catholic faith; his acts issued against France were, however, annulled, and the King scored a complete victory.[2] The suppression of the

Suppression of the order of Templars.

[1] The original bull for the suppression of the Templars *Vox in excelso*, of March 22, 1312, was brought to light in Spain in 1865, and was printed by Hefele in the *Theol. Quartalschrift*. Formal judgment was not pronounced, but the suppression took place *via provisionis et ordinationis*.

[2] Muratori calls Clement V. *il volpino Pontefice*. A satire entitled *principium malorum*, represents him as a fox (Francis. Pipin., Mur., ix. 751); he is thus represented in the *Vaticinium IV.* of the Abbot

order of Templars, one of the most honourable societies of a spiritual character, an order connected with the highest aristocracy in Europe, was, apart from the causes that provoked it and as an independent fact, markedly significant of the spirit of the time. It was a breach with the hierarchic institutions of the Middle Ages and heralded a new epoch. It offers a close parallel to the suppression of the order of Jesuits decreed at a later time by the pope.

Three and twenty cardinals assembled in Carpentras, where Clement held his court and where consequently the conclave must necessarily take place. Fourteen were French, the remainder Italians, namely Guglielmo Longhi of Bergamo, Nicholas Alberti of Prato, Jacopo and Francesco Gaetani of Anagni, Luca Fieschi, Peter and Jacopo Colonna, and Napoleon Orsini.[1] The last three had been celebrated from the time of Boniface VIII. The hereditary feud between their houses, and the quarrel concerning the trial of the pope, were shared by the cardinals, of whom the Colonna, from gratitude to King Philip as well as from hatred towards the Gaetani, sided with the French. But the difficult posi-

The conclave in Carpentras.

Joachim, Padua, 1625. *Mortuus est—horribili morbo lupuli, mala fama multifarie subsequente, et maxime ex infinito auro, quod habuit ab Hospitalariis, quib. concessit castra et bona templi* (Chron. Astense, Mur., ix. 194). His disease, *lupulus* (fistula or cancer), had made him shun society: Mussatus and Pipin. *Uomo simoniaco, che ogni beneficio per danari s'avea in sua corte, e fu lussurioso . . .* Villani, ix. c. 59.

[1] For a comparison of the cardinals, see Carl Müller, *Der Kampf Ludw. des Baiern mit der röm. Curie*, i. 352.

tion in which the conclave in France placed the Italians, made them unanimous in their national aims. The Gascons desired a Gascon, the French a French pope, whom Philip le Bel desired to retain at any price in his dependent position. The Italians longed to atone for their error in the elevation of Clement V. by the election of a man who would deliver the Papacy from French bondage and make his dwelling in Rome. All the elements of a national schism were already forthcoming. The noble Dante now raised his voice as a patriot; he exhorted the cardinals unanimously to resist the Gascons and to restore the pope to orphaned Rome, as he had formerly exhorted the Italians to restore the emperor to the city.[1] He regarded Rome as the seat destined by divine providence for the two powers, and believed it possible that emperor and pope could live there peaceably side by side—a view which history even down to present times either emphatically contradicts, or has never permitted to be realised.

The conclave was of an importance that was universally recognised. It decided an entire future. It concealed a schism within it. Had an Italian become pope, he would have made his seat in Rome; a Frenchman would inevitably prolong the papal exile. Soon after the death of Clement V., Napoleon Orsini, Dean of the Sacred College, wrote

[1] *Ut Vasconum opprobrium, qui tam dira cupidine conflagrantes, Latinorum gloriam sibi usurpare contendunt, per saecula cuncta futura sit posteris in exemplum* (Ep. ix.; only a fragment). He had previously bitterly censured the cardinals for their dereliction of duty in electing Clement V. Villani, ix. c. 136, also mentions this letter in his beautiful panegyric on the dead Dante.

a memorable letter to King Philip, in which he candidly explained the desperate condition of the Italians, and their hatred of the memory of the pope who had just died, and who had formerly so grossly deceived them. He represented Clement V. as one of the worst of popes, a man who had sold dignities and Church property for gold, or had given them to his relations, and whose fault it was that Rome, the State of the Church, and Italy were plunged in ruin. The cardinal already raised the same lament over the ill-usage of Italy at the hands of a French pope and the misrule of avaricious French rectors in the State of the Church, as those with which the indignant country re-echoed fifty years later.[1] The King paid no attention to these laments; they merely served to increase the national hatred of Gascons and French.

Breach between the Italians and French.

The first formal conclave which was held in France added to the memorable history of papal elections scenes of the most furious violence, and exonerated the Romans from the reproach that only amongst, and owing to, them were such outrages committed. On July 24, 1314, the nephews of Clement V., Bertrand de Got and Raymond, with a swarm of Gascons, attacked the conclave in Carpentras; they threw fire into the palace and city; and it was only by hurried flight that the Italian cardinals escaped

The conclave in Carpentras dispersed, July 24, 1314.

[1] *Urbs tota sub eo et per eum extremae ruinae subiacuit, et sedes B. Petri—disrupta est, et patrimonialis non per praedones potius quam rectores spoliata est et confusa. Italia tota—neglecta—dissipata—nos Italici, qui ipsum bonum credentes posuimus, sicut vasa testea rejecti fuimus.* (Baluz., *Vitae Pap. Avign.*, ii., xliii.)

the death which threatened them.[1] The consequence of this proceeding was the dispersion of the electors and the long delay of the new election. Philip le Bel did not in fact live to see it; he died on November 29, 1314, and even his son and successor, Lewis X., strove in vain to bring it to an end. He himself died on July 5, 1316, while after June 28 the procrastinating cardinals were forcibly detained by his brother Philip of Poictiers in conclave at Lyons.

At last on August 7 another Gascon pope was proclaimed. This was Jacques Duèse of Cahors, a man belonging to the middle class, of short stature and plain and unpretending aspect, advanced in years, but versed in all kinds of business, unyielding, indefatigably active, and a pedantic schoolman. He was the acknowledged favourite of Robert of Naples, in whose father's court he had already risen to fortune as courtier and chancellor. By Robert's means he had become successively Bishop of Fréjus and Avignon; he had been mainly instrumental in urging Philip to insist on the overthrow of the Templars. At the Council of Vienne, however, he had astutely prevented the outrage on the memory of Boniface VIII. Clement V., by making Jacques cardinal of Portus, had rewarded his zeal with the purple. Robert desired the elevation of this crafty prelate, in the expectation that he would vigorously oppose Frederick of Sicily, the Visconti of Milan, the Pisans, and the Ghibellines in general, whose power had meanwhile been re-established by the

[1] *Epistola encyclica Cardinalium Italorum de incendio urbis Carpentoratensis*, Valence, September 8, 1314, in Baluz., *Vitae*, ii. n. xlii.

glorious victory of Ugo della Faggiola over the united Guelfs and Neapolitans under the command of two royal princes at Montecatini (August 29, 1315). The imperial party, whose eagle was victoriously borne by the bands of German mercenaries, threatened to become powerful once more as after Monteaperto in Manfred's days.[1] The irresolute cardinals were bribed, even Napoleon Orsini was won over, the French party was outwitted, and Robert obtained his object. The cardinal (aged seventy-two) ascended the papal throne as John XXII., and after consecration on September 5 made his dwelling at Avignon. He soon attracted the attention of mankind by his violent quarrel with the new head of the empire.[2]

John XXII., Pope, 1316–1334.

On Henry's death the Luxemburg party in the empire had hoped for the elevation of Henry's son, John of Bohemia; but as this had become impossible they invited Lewis of Bavaria to come forward as candidate for the crown, in order that it might not fall to Albert's son, Frederick the Fair of Austria. Lewis was proclaimed King of the Romans by five princes of the empire in a suburb of Frankfort on

[1] The victory of Montecatini marks an epoch in the history of Italy. Peter, brother of King Robert, and his nephew Charles, as well as several nobles and countless others, fell in the battle. Villani, ix. c. 70. Robert's expedition against Sicily had failed as early as 1314; he was obliged to conclude a three years' peace.

[2] Villani calls him the son of a cobbler. Recent enquiries show that he was born in 1243, and was the son of a citizen, Arnaud Duèse. Bertrandy, *Recherches histor. sur l'origine, l'élection et le couronnement du Pape Jean XXII.*, Paris, 1854. V. Velarque, *Jean XXII., sa vie et ses oeuvres d'après des docum. inéd.*, Paris, 1883, is an apologia.

Lewis of Bavaria and Frederick of Austria elected Kings of the Romans, Oct. 1314.

October 20, 1314; the day previous, however, the two remaining electors, the Elector of Cologne and the Count Palatine of the Rhine, had nominated Frederick of Austria on the other bank of the river. The two candidates fought for the crown for years, while Robert of Naples used his influence with the new Pope to make him prolong the struggle, in order that he himself might obtain dominion over Italy, which was equally disunited. The King as well as the Guelfs requested the Pope either no longer to recognise an emperor at all, or only to ratify one who would be innocuous as regarded Italy. Robert explained that the Roman-German empire had only arisen through violence and oppression and would perish by the same material causes. With these views he combated the theory of the Ghibellines, more especially Dante, which asserted that the Roman empire had been appointed not by earthly power, but through a process of divine providence, as a universal monarchy for all ages. He showed that the King of Germany, elected as King of the Romans, became the natural enemy of France and Naples, and only came to Italy to re-establish the Ghibellines; he protested above all against the custom of electing kings of the Romans from among Germans, whose nationality and national hatred destined them to be the irreconcilable enemies of the French and Italians.[1]

[1] Instruction to his envoys, Bonaini, i. 233. Since the bull of excommunication of June 12, 1313, is mentioned in it, and Henry is once spoken of as *quond. imp.*, Bonaini is wrong in attributing it to the year 1312. The national hatred openly appears: *praeterea reges*

John XXII. was in no haste to pronounce in favour of either of the German pretenders, but rather to declare the empire vacant, and to ratify the bull of his predecessor, by which Robert was appointed vicar in Italy.[1] He exclusively favoured the Guelfs. The Ghibellines became divided among themselves. The quarrel for the German throne produced a disastrous effect on their power; some recognised Lewis, others Frederick, and both candidates were summoned to Italy. The history of the peninsula at this period is terribly barren and confused. The struggles between the two parties, Robert's enterprises in Sicily and Lombardy, the celebrated war concerning Genoa, the deeds of Matthew Visconti and of Can Grande, or those of Castruccio Castracane (who became tyrant of Lucca after the fall of Ugo della Faggiola, and reduced the Florentines to the direst extremities), exerted scarcely any influence on the conditions of Rome.[2] The people here longed to throw off Robert's rule, but even in 1315 and

Romanor. consueverant—eligi de lingua Germana, quae consuevit producere gentem acerbam et intractabilem, que magis adhaeret barbarice feritati, quam christiane professioni.—Unde cum Germanici cum Gallicis non habeant convenienciam, immo repugnanciam, et cum Ytalicis non conveniant—cavendum est—quod germana feritas inter tot reges et naciones non producat scandala, et dulcedinem Ytalie in amaritudinem non convertat.

[1] Bull, Avignon, July 16, 1317, where that of Clement V. (to which the seal had not been affixed at the time of his death) is confirmed and included. Theiner, i. n. 637.

[2] Already on March 26, 1315, Lewis had invested Ugo della Faggiola with Fucecchio. Deed *Dat. in Wimpina VII. Kal. April.* 1315, in Troya, *Veltro Alleg.*, n. xv. On April 3, 1316, Ugo was driven from Pisa and Lucca; he died in the service of Can Grande on November 1, 1319.

after the great Ghibelline victory of Montecatini, a royal vicar ruled tranquilly on the Capitol.[1] The elevation of John XXII. secured to the King the continuation of the senatorship, since the new Pope conferred the power in Rome upon him and also made him captain general of the State of the Church. And now as formerly Robert appointed his vicars on the Capitol, as a rule for six months. They were partly counsellors and knights of his court, partly, and it is true the majority, Roman nobles, who occasionally bore the title "Senator of the illustrious city" without being more than royal vicars. Boboni, Orsini, Anibaldi, Savelli, Conti, Stefaneschi, and Colonna are found among them, which shows that Robert avoided wounding the civic aristocracy and the national feelings of the Romans.[2] The city

[1] *Spinola de Luculo;* he ratifies the Statute of the Merchants, April 23, 1315.

[2] Vicars: A. 1316: *Thebald. Matthei Orsini* and *Ricard. Petri de Anibaldis* ratify the Statute of the Merchants, April 16. A. 1317: *Raynaldus de Lecto* ratifies it on July 21, 1317. A. 1318: *Nicol. de Jamvilla*, not *Fasanella*, as Vitale writes it (State Archives of Naples, *Reg.* 1272, E. fol. 199: Robert's letter to him of May 27, 1318). On June 24, 1318, Robert appoints *Thomasius de Lentini*. A. 1319: *Joh. Alkerutii Bobonis*, Deed of November 5, 1319, Gaetani Archives, xxxvii. n. 5. He was appointed sole Senator on August 21 (*Reg. Aug.*, fol. 426, in Wüstenfeld, n. 70). *Guill. Scarreria*, again vicar, ratified the Statute December 27, 1319. A. 1320: the same again on May 27 (*Mscr. Vat.*, Galetti, 8051, 48). Whether or not he, as Vendettini asserts, was succeeded by *Giord. di Poncello* and *Stef. Colonna*, I cannot make out from documents. A. 1321: *Anibald. Riccardi* and *Riccard. Fortisbrachii Orsini* ratify the Statute February 27, 1321. They issue an edict on May 4, 1321 (*Cod. Angelic.*, D. 8, 17); are still vicars on September 26 (Vitale). A. 1322: *Joh. de Sabello* and *Paul. de Comite* ratify the Statute on June 18. 1323: *Joh. de Columpna* and *Poncellus D. Matthei Rubi* ratify

always maintained the free institutions of the republic, and consequently stood to Robert in no other relation than Florence, after the latter city had endowed him with the rectorial authority.

Life in Rome—abandoned by the popes—is devoid of all historic value during these years. The nobles remained perpetually engaged in family feuds both in the city and in the provinces, while the Pope and King Robert vainly strove to effect a reconciliation between the parties.[1] In the autumn of 1326 the vicar, Jacopo Savelli, son of the celebrated Pandulf, was out of favour; the syndics, Stephen Colonna and Poncello or Napoleon Orsini, with a body of cavalry, forced their way to the Capitol, prevailed on the vicar to resign, placed him on horseback and led him away.[2] The populace rewarded this energetic action with the honour of knighthood. Both noble gentlemen were obliged to take the bath in rose-water in Ara Coeli, and were then invested with their new

it on April 9. A. 1324, May: *Anibaldo Ricardi Anibaldeschi* and *Joh. Petri Stephani* (Wüstenfeld, n. 76). A. 1324, Oct.: *Franc. Johis Bonaventurae* and *Joh. de Comite* (n. 77). Until June 1, 1325, *Jacob de Sabello* and *Mattheus Francisci de Monte de fil. Ursi* are appointed. From June onwards *Giac. Savelli* alone, since *Matteo di Francesco del Monte* was declined by the Orsini.

[1] On November 6, 1320, the Pope commands a truce between the Gaetani and Colonna (Theiner, i. n. 659). Not until March 24, 1327, did Robert succeed in bringing about a peace. On April 1, 1321, the Pope imposes an armistice between the Prefect of the city, *Manfredus de Vico*, and the *Domini de Farnesio* (n. 668; first mention of the Farnesi in history).

[2] Poncello is an abbreviation of Napoleon and Napoleoncello. For, as I shall show, the same Orsini was Senator with the same Stephen in 1329, and then ratified the Statute of the Merchants as *d. Napuleo de fil. Ursi*.

dignity by twenty-eight deputies of the republic. The proud aristocrat Stephen blushed for it; he apologised to the Pope for his vulgar dignity of knighthood, a dignity which, moreover, was universally dispensed by the municipalities in almost all the cities of Italy. The Pope courteously replied that his new title could only increase the fame of his ancient house.[1] Colonna, Orsini, and the Pope are thus seen together in friendly attitude in 1326, while King Robert continued to administer the government of the city.[2] But the long absence of the Papacy was increasingly felt in Rome. The sources of prosperity were dried up. The streets, the churches, the palaces became deserted. Rapacious barons seized the empty dwellings of the cardinals; the Pope forbade them, but apparently in vain.[3] Disorder was unbounded. Assassination for the sake of revenge and violent robberies were of daily occurrence; armed bands

[1] With the fall of Savelli begin the Roman annals, which Muratori published as *Fragm. Hist. Rom.* in tom. iii., *Antiq.* Curtius places the event in 1320. That it belongs to 1326 is shown by the Pope's answer to Stephen's letter. Avign., October 27, 1326 (Theiner, i. n. 724). Since the *Syndici* of the Senators were thirteen in number (they were also called *judices S. Martinae*), Curtius wrongly concludes that the office of the three conservators was instituted at this time. There were already at an earlier period *Conservatores cam. urbis.* See Olivieri, *del Senato*, p. 233.

[2] According to Vitale the successors of Jacopo Savelli as Robert's vicars were *Romano Orsini* of Nola and *Riccardo Frangipani*; A. 1326, *Francesco*, Count of Anguillara, and *Nicolaus Petri de Annibaldis*. Vendettini's *Serie* for the year; Wüstenfeld, n. 82. A. 1327, March: *Pandulphus com. Anguillare* and *Anibaldus de Anibaldis* (Vendettini).

[3] On April 14, 1321 (Theiner, i. n. 669).

attacked and plundered houses.[1] Young priests, for the most part sons of patrician families, emulated the nobles. These ecclesiastics, in derision of their cloth, flaunted their swords through the streets; they took part in all quarrels, and, their privileges rendering them exempt from secular jurisdiction, committed all manner of crimes with impunity.[2] The populace longed more ardently than ever for the Pope's return. If his presence had frequently been irksome to the Romans, his absence was now a calamity. The supplicating appeals of widowed Rome to her spiritual husband, whom she sought beyond her gates as the Sulamite sought her bridegroom, might now fill the popes in distant Avignon with satisfaction, since, by their refusal to return to Rome, did they not themselves avenge the sufferings, the flight, the exile, and the death of so many of their predecessors?

[1] On May 4, 1321, the Roman people resolve (*cum multi varii enormes excessus committantur*) *quod si quis—fecerit assalimentum de nocte—cum multitudine hominum armatorum ultra XII. numero ad domum alicuius capitaliter puniatur.* (*Cod. Angel.*, D. 8, 17.) Robert's vicars are: *Anibaldi Riccardi de Anibaldis* and *Riccardus Fortisbrachii de filiis Ursi.*

[2] In the same Cod. is a complaint on this subject from the Romans to John XXII. They request the abolition of the spiritual court. *Quod multi in urbe solius prime tonsure privilegii clippeo communiti —orribilium norma facinorum—per tabernas et loca alia inhonesta cum armis evaginatis per urbem interdum se ad rixas et prelia armati potrahendo, cum laycis homicidia, furta, rapinas—commictunt. . . .*

CHAPTER III.

1. QUARREL FOR THE GERMAN THRONE—THE POPE PROCLAIMS HIMSELF REGENT OF THE EMPIRE—ATTITUDE OF THE GHIBELLINES IN ITALY—BATTLE OF MÜHLDORF AND ITS CONSEQUENCES—LEWIS RELIEVES MILAN — THE POPE BRINGS HIM TO TRIAL—LEWIS'S PROTEST—HE IS EXCOMMUNICATED —HIS ALLIES—SCHISM OF THE MINORITES—THE DOCTRINE OF POVERTY AND ITS RELATION TO THE CHURCH AS A TEMPORAL POWER.

THE quarrel for the throne in Germany, where Lewis the Bavarian was crowned at Aachen on November 25, 1314, and Frederick of Austria at Bonn the same day, produced conditions resembling those which had prevailed in the days of Innocent III. John XXII. bestowed the title "King-elect of the Romans" on both pretenders and recognised neither. This was required by Robert, the protector of the Church in Italy. In order to crush the Ghibellines, John announced in a bull on March 31, 1317, that the Pope, to whom, in the person of the Apostle Peter, God had entrusted power both in heaven and on earth, was the lawful vicar of the empire while it remained vacant. Under penalty of excommunication, he therefore commanded that all such persons as Henry VII. had appointed imperial vicars in the

John XXII. usurps the imperial authority.

provinces and cities of Italy should immediately renounce their titles.[1] If this act of papal usurpation should become law, it would necessarily follow that all princes of the empire and vassals of the crown must take the oath of vassalage and pay tribute to the pope, that the distribution of dignities and fiefs in the empire fell to him, and more especially, that all secular affairs must be brought before his tribunal.[2] The safe asylum which they found in France, and the support they received in the kingdom, whose servants they were, made the Avignonese popes more exacting towards the emperors than their greatest predecessors had been. John XXII., instigated by France and Naples, soon waxed more arrogant towards Lewis of Bavaria, than Boniface VIII. towards Philip le Bel. His bulls aroused violent opposition; nevertheless Matthew Visconti, the chief head of the Ghibellines in Lombardy, renounced the title of vicar, and for reasons of policy assumed instead the dignity of signor general in Milan, while Can della Scala continued to call himself vicar of the empire in Verona and Vicenza for Frederick of Austria, to whom he had done homage.

The claim of the Pope to the administration of the empire was the greater assumption in that he

[1] Bull *Si fratrum, dat. Aven. II. Kal. April, A.* 1. Martene, *Thesaur. Nov. Anecd.*, ii. 641.

[2] *Cum enim eodem (imperio) vacante asserat jam dictus episcopus se in officio succedere — imperatori — sequitur, ad ipsius auctoritatem pertinere juramenta fidelitatis a cunctis principibus et feodatariis imperialibus—exigenti—nec non—petendi—tributa . . . Cod. Vat.*, 3974, fol. 97. Celebrated pamphlet in defence of Lewis the Bavarian, called *Defensor Pacis*.

also determined to extend it over German affairs. Arrogance so unjustifiable necessarily entailed fierce warfare with the head of the empire. At this time, however, Lewis was unable to oppose the Pope, since the quarrel for the German crown had first to be decided by arms. Frederick, the weaker of the competitors, acquired the favour of France and John. He even allowed Robert to induce him to appear with a military force in Lombardy, in return for which he was promised recognition as King of the Romans. But the Ghibelline leaders, Matthew Visconti, lord of Milan, Pavia and Piacenza, of Cremona and Bergamo, of Alessandria, Lodi, Como, and Tortona, a prince of regal power; Can della Scala, ruler of the cities of Verona and Vicenza; Passerino de Bonacolsi, the terrible tyrant of Modena; and the Margraves of Este, whom Ferrara had recalled on the expulsion of the papal garrison,—these in Lombardy resisted the enemy with admirable foresight and energy. In vain the Pope and Robert sent to Lombardy Philip of Valois (son of Prince Charles, who had been conspicuous in the time of Boniface VIII.) with the cardinal-legate Bertram da Pogetto and an army; in vain Raymond of Cardona advanced against Milan a year later; the bulls of excommunication against the Visconti, Can della Scala and Passerino met also with no success. These antiquated weapons no longer moved the hearts of the Italians. They were scoffed at, and the Ghibellines victoriously made war on the papal army.[1]

[1] Nic. Botront. candidly told Clement V. what the Italians thought of the bulls of excommunication. Cardinal Pellagru, he says, had

True that in May 1322 Frederick the Fair sent his brother Henry of Steiermark with troops to Brescia; the prince returned after the Milanese envoys had clearly given him to understand that the overthrow of the Ghibellines could only involve the fall of the empire and exalt Robert into the despot of Italy. The aged Matthew Visconti died in full possession of his power (June 27, 1322) and bequeathed it to his vigorous son Galeazzo. The Ghibellines everywhere triumphed, and on September 28 of the same year the battle of Mühldorf decided the struggle for the empire in favour of Lewis the Bavarian.

Death of Matthew Visconti, June 27, 1322.

Had John XXII. recognised accomplished facts in Germany, he would have spared Italy and himself terrible storms. The Pope, however, was an arrogant and at the same time a petty-minded man, a quarrelsome theologian, who desired to make the now Frenchified Papacy once more ruler of the world. The quarrel between him and the King of the Romans broke forth as soon as Lewis asserted the imperial rights in Lombardy. Summoned to the aid of the threatened Ghibellines, he required the cardinal-legates to raise the siege of Milan in April 1323. As his request was not obeyed, he sent 800 cavalry to the defence of Galeazzo, and these troops were more successful. The relieved city did homage to the King of the Romans on June 23; and as such Lewis now appeared in Italy. He received the homage of the Estes for Ferrara; he appointed

remarked to him: *quomodo parum Italici curant de excommunicationibus alicubi—nisi gladius materialis eos ducat ratione timoris ad obedientiam, gladius spiritualis non.* In Böhmer, i. 91.

Count Berthold of Neuffen vicar-general; he entered into a treaty of alliance with Can Grande, his vicar in Verona and Vicenza, with the Estes, with Mantua and Modena.[1]

John XXII. repudiates King Lewis.

These combined circumstances roused John's fiercest wrath. On October 8, 1323, he announced that Lewis the Bavarian had usurped the title and rights of King of the Romans, and required him to resign the administration of the empire within three months, to revoke his acts and renounce the Visconti, who had been excommunicated as heretics. He further forbade the entire empire to recognise him as King of the Romans.[2] On receiving this declaration of war, Lewis assembled the most celebrated doctors, especially those of Bologna and Paris, in consultation, and thus summoned the independent spirit of learning to his aid. On December 18 he met the papal sentence by a counter-manifesto, in which he maintained his rights in the empire and turned the charge of usurpation against the Pope, since his own election by the princes of the empire and his recognition by Germany had constituted him King of the Romans some years before.[3] The

[1] Verci, *Storia della Marca Trivigiana*, t. ix. n. 966. Lewis had already appointed a vicar-general for Italy on January 4, 1315, John of Belmont, brother of the Count of Holland. Ficker, *Urk. zur Gesch. des Römerzugs Kaiser Ludwig's des Baiern*, Innsbruck, 1865, p. 1.

[2] Bull *Attendentes quod dum. Dat. Aven. VII. Id. Oct. a. VIII.*, Martene, *Thesaur. Anecd.*, ii. 641. With it begins the long series of reports of the celebrated trial of Lewis. Concerning this suit see W. Preger, *Die Anf. des kirchenpolit. Kampfes unter Ludw. d. Baier. Abh. d. Bayer. Akad. d. W.*, xvi., 1880; E. Müller, *Der Kampf. L. d. B. mit d. röm. Curie*, 1879, 1880.

[3] Lewis already appeals to a general Council. For the reports from

challenge of John XXII. was indeed astounding, for not even when the Church was at the zenith of her power had any of his predecessors ever acted with such precipitation. The Pope evidently desired a quarrel with the empire, in order to acquire importance for himself and to release the Church from the narrow bounds in which she lay imprisoned at Avignon. Imitating Innocent IV., he summoned the dull-witted Lewis to play the part of Frederick II. He deposed and excommunicated the King on July 13. Lewis, now driven to extremities, protested by a manifesto, and appealed from the Pope, the usurper of the empire, the avowed heretic and criminal against the rights of nations, to a general Council.[1] But the princes of the empire made the King's cause their own. The publication of the bull of excommunication was forbidden under pain of outlawry; a sentence actually enforced on the Archbishop of Salzburg. Thus Lewis the Bavarian was forced as the last German emperor to enter the antiquated lists, in order to uphold the independence of the temporal power with the sword, while his opponent—beyond his reach at Avignon—calmly surveyed the issue of the "trial." The intellectual insignificance of both John XXII. and Lewis lessens

He excommunicates King Lewis, July 13, 1324.

Nuremberg, *XV. Kal. Jan. A.* 1323, see Joh. Georg Herwart, *Ludovicus IV. Imp. defensus*, p. 248. This apologia by the Bavarian chancellor (Munich, 1618) pulverises the falsehoods of Bzovius.

[1] *Ludovici IV. Imp. appellatio ad futur. Concil. Gen. adv. Joann. P. XXII.* Baluz., *Vitae*, ii. n. 85. Edict of the King from Ratisbon, August 1324; Latin version of this appeal, in Rousset, *Suppl. au corps Diplom.*, ii. 100. The vehement language heralds the Reformation.

our interest in the conflict. And after the long history of the struggles between Church and empire, this afterpiece would be an utterly unendurable caricature of a great past, were it not for the extremely important phenomena with which it is associated, and which offer an astounding testimony to the progress of human thought.

Schism in the Franciscan order.

The representatives of the secular rights found allies within the Church herself. The teachings of evangelical poverty created the material for violent ferment in the society of the Franciscans. The hypercritical intellect of the monks found occupation during hours of inactive leisure in speculations concerning the lawfulness of property, which, ridiculous in form though they were, yet involved a serious question. The celebrated controversies regarding the nature or will of Christ, concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit, the Immaculate Conception and other dogmas, which had formerly produced great movements in Christendom, had proved barren subjects for mankind. But the absurd question as to whether Christ and His disciples possessed coats of their own acquired a great and entirely practical importance in the midst of the actual conditions of the Church, invested as she was with temporal power. The schism among the Minorites, among whom the strict Spiritualists severed themselves from the community of the order, broke out more violently than ever under John XXII. The sect who upheld the doctrine of absolute poverty rose in fury in the South of France, in Belgium and Germany. Their teachings also found a ready echo in Italy. For here the Celes-

tines held the memory of S. Peter of Murrone in profound reverence, and bold sectarian leaders, the heads of the apostolic order of poverty, Gerard Segarelli of Parma and the heroic enthusiast Dolcino of Novara, had left by their life and death a profound impression on the mind of the people.[1] The Poor Brothers, Fraticelli, Lollards, Beghards, thoughtful mystics, evangelical enemies of the temporal pomp of a Church which sank ever deeper into the vices of the time, preached in squares and streets, proclaimed the Pope and his Church heretical, and taught that only such as imitated the humble life of the Saviour preserved the gospel of Christ.[2] John XXII. condemned these doctrines. The Inquisition in Marseilles burnt men, who joyfully mounted the stake to seal their love of poverty with death. Their friends honoured them as martyrs. Everywhere voices were raised denouncing both the secular and spiritual power of the Pope as unapostolic.[3] It seemed as if the party

[1] Segarelli died at the stake at Parma in 1300. Dolcino, the head of the republic of heretics at Vercelli, after heroic struggles, suffered the same fate in 1307. They taught that all the popes who owned temporal property from Sylvester onwards, Celestine V. excepted, were impostors; they denied the spiritual authority of the pope. *Hist. Dulcini*, in Muratori, ix.

[2] The bull of John XXII. of January 23, 1318 (Rayn., n. 45), says: *Primus itaque error—duas fingit ecclesias, unam carnalem, divitiis pressam, effluentem delitiis, sceleribus maculatam, cui Romanum Praesulem—dominari asserunt; aliam spiritualem—paupertate succinctam.*

[3] With the fourteenth century the Inquisition begins to assume a terrible character. The reports of the ecclesiastical society are filled with persecutions of heretics and Jews, and with trials for witchcraft. The march of the Pastoreaux through France, and the horrors with which it was allied (1320, 1321), as well as the great trial of the "Lepers," are characteristic of the time.

war of Guelfs and Ghibellines had been removed into the Church, where in the Dominicans and Franciscans, in the Scotists or Realists and the Nominalists, these factions found their representatives on scholastic soil. In 1322 a furious quarrel arose between the Dominicans and Minorites on the question whether Christ owned temporal property or not. Under the presidency of the General of the Order, Michael of Cesena, the Provincials of the Minorites assembled at Perugia, and here issued a formal declaration, asserting that the theory that Christ and His Apostles owned neither personal nor common property was by no means heretical, but a strictly Catholic article of faith.[1] This manifesto provoked a storm of scholastic enquiries, and after it had been condemned by John XXII. in the bull *Cum inter*, further led to a schism which some years later drove the recalcitrant Minorites under their general Michael into the camp of the Emperor, to join him in warring against a Pope whom they esteemed heretical.[2]

Synod at Perugia.

The question as to whether Christ owned rights of property, or only the actual use of temporal things (*usus facti*), would have puzzled the Apostles themselves, who would have regarded it as over refined and unimportant. For none of the pious disciples of the Saviour could anticipate that a time would ever come when their absolute poverty, or their scanty property, when even the faintest indication of property, the purchase of the smallest mouthful

[1] Raynald, *ad A.* 1322, n. 55. The declaration was also signed by William of Occam.

[2] Bull *Cum inter, dat. Avig. II. Id. Nov.* 1323. Raynald, n. 61.

of bread, or the circumstance whether or not they wore their own clothes, would furnish material for eager enquiry, or when these curious problems would become the most important symbols of the fundamental relations of the entire Church. Had the opinion that the Apostles owned no worldly property prevailed, then would the Roman Church have been deprived of all those foundations on which she had reared her temporal power during long centuries. The principle of her universal jurisdiction, as well as of the existence of her *Dominium Temporale*, would have been removed; and she herself would have appeared to have degenerated from the pure spiritual conception of apostolic times into a secular deformity. To an emperor called to wage war on a pope who claimed the government of the empire, nothing could have been more welcome than this scholastic dispute. Lewis the Bavarian consequently invoked Christ, the Apostles, S. Francis and his followers as allies against the Pope. And already, in his protest of the year 1324, he alleged the doctrine of poverty in order to represent John XXII. as a heretic, since the Pope denied not only the emperor, but also the Saviour. It is precisely this alliance of the Ghibelline political rights with the tenets of the Franciscans that invested the quarrel between Lewis and the Pope with such importance in the history of culture, and that produced such serious consequences for the entire relations between Church and State.[1]

[1] See Lewis's protest in Baluz., ii. 494. The grounds for the doctrine of the Church were, the purse of Judas, the oblations of the pious, that Christ possessed clothes, bought victuals, and that Paul

2. BEGINNINGS OF THE REFORMATION—THE CANONICAL EVIDENCE IN FAVOUR OF THE UNIVERSAL POWER OF THE PAPACY—DOCTRINES OF THOMAS AQUINAS CONCERNING THE RELATIONS OF STATE AND CHURCH—REACTION AGAINST THE CANONISTS AFTER PHILIP LE BEL—DANTE'S *DE MONARCHIA*—THE SCHOOL OF THE MONARCHISTS ATTACKS THE PAPACY—THE *DEFENSOR PACIS* OF MARSILIUS OF PADUA—THE EIGHT QUESTIONS OF WILLIAM OF OCCAM, AND SIMILAR TREATISES OF THE FIRST REFORMERS.

With the fourteenth century the intellect of Europe began to follow the path of reformation. The historic causes of that movement were essentially the quarrel of Boniface VIII. with Philip le Bel, and that of John XXII. with Lewis the Bavarian, concerning the boundaries of papal and civil power. Philosophical criticism, which was becoming independent, and constitutional law severed themselves from the theocratic views, on which the omnipotence of the Church had rested in the Middle Ages, and with unexampled audacity learning now attacked the foundations of this great hierarchical structure.

worked for his living. Dante also touched the question in his *Monarchy: Eccl. omnino indisposita erat ad temporalia recipienda per praeceptum prohibitivum expressum, ut habemus per Matthaeum sic: Nolite possidere aurum, neque argentum.* It thence follows that the Church ought not to have accepted temporal property, even when it was legally offered to her by Constantine; nor ought he to have offered it. The Ghibelline theory was, that the emperor could only confer temporal property on the Church as *patrimonium*, but *immoto semp. superiori dominio, cujus unitas divisionem non patitur.*—*Monarchia*, iii. § x.

Let us review in brief the doctrines, now become canonical, which the Church had formulated under Gregory VII. and in the times of Innocent III. and IV., in order to trace from them the theory of the universal power of the Papacy. These doctrines were a compound derived from historic and dogmatic sources. The jurisdiction of the popes over kings and peoples was traced from the "Donation of Constantine," from the "translation of the empire from the Greeks to the Franks," which had been accomplished through Leo III., and lastly from the coronation of Charles by the same pope. Still more important were the dogmatic and ecclesiastical grounds; Christ had appointed Peter head of the universal Church and His vicar; had entrusted him with the power to bind and to loose, and with the spiritual and temporal jurisdiction. The popes accordingly asserted that this power had been transmitted to them; for they were the successors of Peter, consequently the vicars of Christ on earth, therefore endowed by Him with the imperium over heaven and earth, in sign of which they bore the keys. They ascribed to themselves the *Plenitudo Potestatis*, of which every earthly power was only an emanation or fief; in accordance with their theories they had authority to depose and set up kings, were the founders of the empire, bestowed the imperial crown, carried the two swords, and in short ruled with absolute power as sovereigns in both spiritual and secular affairs.

The Council of Lyons, which wrought the fall of the great Emperor Frederick, had been the historic

The School of the Thomists.

event that exalted these audacious papal aspirations into accomplished facts, under the weight of which the Ghibelline idea foundered. At this period Thomas of Aquino established the canonical doctrine that the emperor was subordinate to the pope; that the royal authority, being an entirely material power, acquired a rational foundation solely by means of the spiritual power, as the corporal body only received impulse through the mind; that all royal jurisdiction was derived from the pope, the representative of Christ and the visible head of the Christian jurisdiction.[1] After the fall of the Hohenstaufens the prostrate empire recognised in principle the supremacy of the pope; the Habsburgers confirmed the theory that the pope was the light-giving sun, the emperor only the pallid moon or the lesser light. As the popes had formerly sent their decrees of election for examination to the emperor, so the emperors now sent their decrees of election to the popes, implored the latter to ratify them and to

[1] His work, *De Regimine Principum ad Reg. Cypri* (*Op.*, Paris, 1656), based on the policy of Aristotle, develops the doctrine of the Church in matters of political science. Lib. i. c. 14. The ultimate end of man is eternal bliss; the means thereto, the Church (*regnum divinum*); the king of this empire is Christ. His vicar, the pope, *cui omnes Reges populi christiani oportet esse subditos, sicut ipsi D. N. J. Christo.—In lege Christi Reges debent sacerdotib. esse subjecti.* Then lib. iii. c. 10, 14, 18. Christ had instituted the *Domin. sacerdotale* (Matt., 26, 18). The pope has the *plenitudo omn. gratiarum*; on him depends also the temporal power. The *Monarchia Christi* has taken the place of the ancient *Imperium.* The papal jurisdiction was derived from the donation of Constantine and the translation of the empire to the Franks through the pope: *quo facto satis ostenditur qualiter potestas Imperii ex judicio Papae dependet.*

award them the crown of Charles the Great, which they patiently submitted to receive as a favour from the pope after he had examined them in person.

The triumph of the Church was consequently complete. The imperial power lay at the feet of the popes, who, after a memorable trial of more than two hundred years, had scored one of the greatest victories known to history. But against this indefensible removal of the boundaries between Church and empire, a reaction naturally set in, such as formerly succeeded the overweening power which the empire had acquired under the Ottos and Henry III. The fall of Boniface VIII. through the influence of the French monarchy marks the turning point in the beginning of the fourteenth century. And in the quarrel between Henry VII. and Clement V. as to the nature of the oath which the emperor should tender to the pope, the imperial authority again awoke to the consciousness of its majesty. The jurisconsults of Philip of France and the professors of the Sorbonne, such as John of Paris and William of Occam, were the first to rebel against the doctrines of canon law. They subjected the legal extent of the papal and royal power to scientific enquiry; they demonstrated the independence of the monarchy; they denied the secular jurisdiction of the pope, and demanded the severance of the papal and regal authority.[1]

[1] Long treatise of *Joh. de Parrhisis De Potestate regia et Papali*, of the year 1305: Goldast, *Monarchia*, ii. 108. And *Disputatio super Potestate Praelatis atque Principibus terrarum commissa. Ibid.*, i. pp. 13–18. This remarkable dialogue between a knight and a priest,

The School of the Monarchists.

The conception of the "Monarchy" suddenly became the programme of constitutional law in the fourteenth century and the symbol of reform for a new generation, which strove to break down the ecclesiastical barriers of the Middle Ages. The Monarchists again arose against the Papists. They were the conservatives, for they fought for the ancient royal authority and the ancient consecrated imperial power, but they were at the same time revolutionaries, since they attacked the system of papal power, which had been established for centuries, and the feudal hierarchy. If the champions of the rights of France asserted the royal crown was independent of the Church, the Ghibellines of Italy and Germany, on the other hand, confronted the same Church with the theory of the empire, or the "universal monarchy," and sought to replace the ancient Roman imperium in its rights. Dante's celebrated book inaugurates a new epoch. With independent mind the admirer of Thomas Aquinas disputed the principles of constitutional law held by his revered master in scholastics and theology, whose treatise on the monarchy of Christ he combated in his own treatise *De Monarchia.* We have already seen what this great intellect understood by the monarchy, and how he confronted the Guelf doctrine of the Church with his tenets concerning the divine summons of the Romans to universal supremacy and the inalienable integrity of the empire. The

according to recent enquiry, has wrongly been ascribed to Occam. S. Riezler, *Die literarischen Widersacher der Päpste zur Zeit Ludwig des Baiers,* Leipzig, 1874, p. 145.

indestructible empire in its divine dignity as the Kosmos of law, of civic prosperity, of freedom, of peace and culture, was to be delivered from its fetters, and the Emperor of Rome was to re-ascend his throne as impartial head of the world. Dante maintained that the emperor, the absolute ruler of all temporal things, derived his authority immediately from God; he showed that it was impossible that the pope could be the creator of the empire, which was older than the Church itself, but that beside Caesar he was only the paternal ruler of the great spiritual hospital on earth, which had heaven for its goal. Dante's intellectual work made a profound impression on his own and after times, although as regards the practical constitution of the world it evaporated in Utopian theories, as little capable of realisation as the political dreams of Zeno, Plato, or Plotinus.[1] Its influence is recognised everywhere in the science of constitutional law, which, owing to the fresh quarrel between emperor and pope, immediately began to develop in Europe. Independently of Dante men were actively engaged in Germany, France, and Italy with enquiries into the essence of the monarchy and the origin of the empire, questions which had now become the most important of the time.[2] The

[1] "With Henry VII. ends the history of the empire in Italy, and Dante's book is an epitaph instead of a prophecy"; James Bryce, *The Holy Roman Empire*, London, 1866, p. 291. This excellent book, the work of an Englishman, develops the idea of the empire and its operation in universal history.

[2] According to Goldast, *Politica Imperialia*, Frankfort, 1614, the work *Engelberti Abbatis Admontensis in Austria, De ortu et fine*

attacks of John XXII. on the empire, and the violent discords which they engendered, partly encouraged these researches, and infused a sudden vigour into the new science. The theologians, the schoolmen, the learned monks and the lawyers immersed themselves in the study of the essence of State and Church, of Monarchy and Papacy; they sought their respective origins in history, to which they applied scientific criticism for the first time. They went back to Constantine, Justinian, and Charles the Great; they investigated all the legal relations of the spiritual and temporal power; they traced the roots of the hierarchy to the very end, they severed the fictitious from the genuine, right from usurpation; they studied the Gospels and the Fathers of the Church, and drew conclusions which condemned the union of the two powers in the pope. Above all, in well-reasoned treatises they refuted the important doctrine of the Canonists concerning the translation of the empire through the Pope to Charles the Great, and proved that the imperial authority was independent from the Church.[1]

Rom. Imperii, was produced as early as 1310. Engelbert, like Dante, pronounces in favour of the universal monarchy.

[1] The question of the translation gave rise to a series of writings which continued until long after the Reformation. *Marsilii Patavini Tract. de translat. Imp.* of the year 1313 (Goldast, *Mon.*, ii. 147) is written in a critical spirit; uncritical is the papistical treatise of *Radulph. de Columna* (Schardius, *Sylloge Historico-Politico-Ecclesiastica*, Argentor., 1618). Goldast himself wrote against Baronius and Bellarmine his clear-sighted treatise *de transl. Imp. Rom. a Graecis ad Francos*, printed in his *Politica Imperialia*. He shows that Leo III. could not transfer the empire to the Franks, since he was himself a

Meanwhile the monarchists pushed Dante's principles yet further; they no longer restricted themselves to demands for the independence of the empire, but reversed the relations; they denied the supremacy of the pope over the national churches themselves, and made him subject to Caesar, as in Byzantine and Carolingian times. The teachings of the Minorites respecting poverty being pronounced heretical, produced within the ecclesiastical sphere a war against the papal authority so bitter as had scarcely been witnessed in Hohenstaufen times. This Franciscan schism still further enlarged the limits of the questions at issue, which now passed into dogmatic territory. The later doctrines of reform, preached by Wycliffe, Huss, and Luther, were already advanced with unreserved boldness by the Minorites and their allies in the twentieth year of the fourteenth century. The celebrated work of Marsilius of Padua, the *Defensor Pacis*, dedicated to King Lewis, not only proved that all secular jurisdiction as well as all temporal property belonged to the emperor, but also attacked the spiritual authority of the pope, which Marsilius above all denied. According to his view Peter had no greater power than the other Apostles, and Christ had not appointed any head of the Church as His representative. This brave Aristotelian asserted that Peter had not even been the founder of the

Marsilius of Padua.

subject of the Greek emperor, and had no authority to bestow the empire, being only a Roman like any other Roman. These views are represented by Döllinger: "Das Kaisertum Carl's des Groszen und seiner Nachfolger," *Münchner Histor. Jahrbuch*, 1865.

Roman bishopric, since it could not be proved that he had ever been in Rome.[1] He investigated the papal jurisdiction and discovered that the pope did not possess any authority over bishops and priests, since bishops and priests were all equal. From the Gospels and the Fathers of the Church he drew the conclusion that no priest had any jurisdiction whatever. He denied the power of the keys; no priest could bind or loose; to God alone belonged the power; the priest was only God's key-bearer, that is to say, he only expressed a condition of guilt and forgiveness in the spiritual economy of society; but the penitent received absolution from God alone. The pope and the Church had no authority to punish (*potestas coactiva*); they received it in the first place from the emperor, the universal judge. The supreme head of the empire could even punish the pope, could appoint and depose him, and during the vacancy of the Chair took the place of head of the Church. The pope had no right to confirm the Roman king, since the king was such through the election of the princes of the empire, without intervention of priests. Finally, Marsilius explained that the hierarchy of priests was not the Church, but that on the contrary the Church consisted of the communion of all believers; and he advanced the doctrine, which was afterwards to attain such im-

[1] Marsilius says that, according to the Acts of the Apostles, Paul was two years in Rome, whence it follows that he and not Peter was bishop there. It would be strange indeed, if Peter preached in Rome with Paul, suffered death, and founded the Church, that neither Luke nor Paul should mention him. Peter was only to be recognised as Bishop of Antioch. *Defens. Pacis*, ii. c. 16.

portance, of the supreme authority of a general Council. The schismatic Minorites fought on his side in favour of this principle.[1] The learned Englishman, William of Occam, the pupil of Duns Scotus, restorer of the Nominalists, placed beside the *Defensor Pacis* a no less important work, rich in scholastic learning, his Eight Questions on the papal power. They accord in substance with the views of Marsilius. Like Dante he disputes the Donation of Constantine, since it was impossible for this emperor to renounce the inalienable imperial rights. He placed the emperor and the general Council as judges over the pope, and asserted that the coronation was no divine transaction, but only a ceremony which any bishop could perform.[2]

William of Occam.

[1] The *Defensor Pacis* (a MS. in the Vatican), printed by Goldast in *Mon.*, vol. ii., the chief work on the side of the Reformers in the beginning of *saec.* xiv., illuminates the whole history of the hierarchy. In opposition to it John XXII. issued the bull *Licet juxta*, October 23, 1326 (Martene, *Thes. Nov.*, ii. 705). The sophistry employed is equal on both sides. In order to prove that the pope could be punished by the emperor, the monarchists quote the crucifixion of Christ by Pilate. To encounter the argument of the tribute money, John XXII. explained that it had not been paid by Christ, since kings are exempt from taxes and Christ belonged to the House of David. Dante had already collected all the arguments of the Canonists in his *Monarchia*. The chief doctrines of the monarchists are: *Regn. meum non est de hoc mundo; Reddite quae sunt Caesaris Caesari; Nemo militans Deo implicat se secularib. negotiis.* The main argument for the power of the pope rested on the words: *Tibi dabo claves regni coelor. et quodcunq. ligaveris super terram, erit legatum et in coelis; et quodcunq. solveris sup. terr. erit solutum et in coelis.* Further *pasce oves meas* and *Tu es Petrus*, &c.

[2] *Guillelmi Occam Super Potestate S. Pontificis, octo quaestion. decisiones.* Goldast, *Mon.*, ii. A long, scholastic, clumsy treatise of theses and antitheses. Important also is the work of Lupold of

3. LEWIS RECONCILED TO FREDERICK OF AUSTRIA—THE GUELF LEAGUE — CASTRUCCIO CASTRACANE — THE GHIBELLINES SUMMON LEWIS—PARLIAMENT IN TRENT —LEWIS TAKES THE IRON CROWN — HE ADVANCES AGAINST PISA — REVOLUTION IN ROME — SCIARRA COLONNA, CAPTAIN OF THE PEOPLE—UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPTS OF THE CARDINAL-LEGATES, THE NEAPOLITANS, AND EXILES TO ENTER ROME—SCIARRA'S VICTORY IN THE BORGO OF THE VATICAN—FALL OF PISA—LEWIS AND CASTRUCCIO MARCH AGAINST ROME —THE KING'S ENTRY.

The pacification of Germany soon made it possible for Lewis to come to Italy, whither the Ghibellines invited him with increasing urgency, and desire impelled him to take the crown of empire in Rome in defiance of the Pope.[1] In March 1325, by the treaty of Trausnitz, he became reconciled to his imprisoned rival. The Pope sought in vain to prevent this work of peace in Germany. Necessity and prudence induced the former competitors for the crown to conclude the second and permanent treaty at Munich on September 5, and the Pope, who urged France, Hungary, Poland, and Bohemia to make war on the Bavarians, happily did not succeed in dividing Germany and hurling Lewis from his lawful throne, beside which the Austrian with sullen resignation

Treaty at Trausnitz, 1325.

[1] As early as December 18, 1325, the Pope commanded Peter, Rector of the Patrimony, to proceed against Viterbo and Corneto, which had conspired to call the condemned Duke of Bavaria emperor and expect him as a Messiah. Preger, *Auszüge aus den Urk. des Vatican. Archivs. von* 1325–1334 (*Abhandl. der Bayer. Akad. der Wissensch.*, vii. i. n. 258).

had been obliged to take his place as co-regent and titular king.

In Italy, on the contrary, the league of the Pope, Robert, the Florentines and the remaining Guelfs of Tuscany seemed more successful. Their alliance aimed above all at the overthrow of the dreaded Castruccio Castracane. This celebrated tyrant, of the Lucchese house of Interminelli, was endowed with more brilliant qualities, and favoured with better fortune, than Ugo della Faggiola. From the prison into which Ugo had thrown him, he had passed in 1316 to the lordship of Lucca, where Frederick the Fair first made him imperial vicar, and where after 1324 he obtained recognition from Lewis. He had become leader of the Ghibellines, subjugated Pistoja, formed an alliance with the Visconti, and by incessant war reduced Florence to the verge of ruin. The harassed Florentines offered the signory of their city for ten years to Robert's son, Charles of Calabria. This prince first sent Walter of Brienne, titular Duke of Athens, as his vicar, and then himself entered Florence with a magnificent escort of knights and troops on July 30, 1326. He also assumed the signory of Siena, while John Gaetano Orsini, the only Italian on whom on his elevation John XXII. had conferred the purple, was active as legate of the Church and as peace-maker in Florence. On February 5, 1327, Bologna surrendered to Cardinal Beltram del Poggetto, nephew of John XXII.; Modena soon did likewise. These successes of the Guelfs, but more particularly the appearance of the Duke of Calabria in Tuscany,

Castruccio Castracane, lord of Lucca.

placed the Ghibellines in difficulties. Their envoys implored Lewis to come to Rome, and like Henry VII. he yielded.

Ghibelline parliament in Trent, Feb. 1327.

In February 1327 he assembled a truly illustrious parliament in Trent. The brothers Visconti, Galeazzo, Marco and Lucchino, Can Grande della Scala, Passerino de Bonacolsis, Raynald and Obizo of Este, the Bishop Guido Tarlati of Arezzo, the envoys of Castruccio, the envoys of Frederick of Sicily, the plenipotentiaries of the Ghibelline cities of Italy, appeared before him.[1] They promised to pay the King one hundred and fifty thousand gold florins as soon as he should arrive in Milan, and they urged him to come and take the Iron Crown without delay. Contrary to his original intention, Lewis swore to depart for Italy. His avowed aim was to wrest from the hands of foreign usurpers "the rights of the empire and the dominion of the world, which the Germans had acquired through streams of noble blood."[2] The parliament in Trent partook of the

[1] Lewis had formed an alliance with Frederick of Sicily on March 17, 1325. Ficker, iii. Supplement to Böhmer's *Regesta of the Emperor Lewis*, 356. Can della Scala appeared in Trent with 600 cavalry, demanded Padua, which was at that time in possession of Henry of Carinthia, left Trent with threats, but then turned back and accepted an arbitration.

[2] Lewis's letter to his father-in-law, William of Holland, Trent, March 13, 1327. Böhmer, *Fontes*, i. 197. Concerning the assembly in Trent, see Verci, *Storia della Marcha Triv.*, ix. 89, appendix. The expedition to Rome of Lewis the Bavarian has been frequently treated in our times. See, in addition to the passages concerning it in Riezler's *Gesch. Bayerns*, W. Altmann, *Der Römerzug L. d. B.*, 1886; Anton Chroust, *Beiträge z. Gesch. L. d. B.*, 1887; Tresdorp, *Der Römerzug L. d. B.*

character of a Council, since renegade bishops, Minorites, and theologians were present. A formal process was instituted against the Pope, who was pronounced a heretic. The reforming spirit of the time thus accompanied Lewis the Bavarian as an ally on his first appearance in Italy.

Lewis departs for Italy, March 14, 1327.

As the King, escorted by all the Italian nobles, descended from Trent into Lombardy on March 14, 1327, he came summoned like Henry VII., not, however, expected as the Messiah of peace, but as a warrior prince and head of the Ghibellines, as the avowed enemy of the Pope, and laden with the papal excommunication. These facts made him independent of all scrupulous considerations, and enabled him to advance rapidly to a definite goal. He passed his allies in review and found them sufficiently numerous. Only Genoa and Pisa, on which Henry of Luxemburg had leant for support, were now Guelf, and Rome was still doubtful. But that city was murmuring at the continued absence of the Pope, and the Ghibellines were able to assure Lewis that it would declare in his favour.[1] John XXII. was not able to prevent the King's march to Rome, although he hurled fresh excommunications across his path.[2]

[1] *Tanta est nobis pars in Urbe R., quod—credimus quod in coronatione nra imperiali—nullus nobis difficultates—procurare* Lewis to his father-in-law, Como, April 10. Böhmer, *Fontes*, i. 200. Already in 1315 he had shown himself friendly to the Colonna; on November 30 at Ratisbon he had conceded the right of coinage to Stephen, Sciarra, Jordan, and Peter. Chmel, *Reg. Friedr. IV.*, n. 2834; Böhmer, n. 165.

[2] The Bulls of April 3 and 9 are given in Lünig, *Cod. It. Dipl.*, i. n. 13, 14.

The Lombard cities did homage to the King of the Romans, who had appeared with only 600 knights. He proceeded by Bergamo and Como to Milan, where he was received with splendour by Galeazzo on May 16, and where the Bishop Guido Tarlati, excommunicated by the Pope, crowned him and his wife Margaret on Whitsunday, 1327. Numerous ambassadors from the Ghibelline cities and envoys of the Romans were present and invited Lewis to be crowned emperor.[1] Fortune openly declared in his favour. His army was strengthened by reinforcements from Germany. Unlike the Luxemburger, who had shown himself impartial to weakness, he terrified tyrants by his severity. Instigated by their enemies, and suspicious of Galeazzo, he threw into prison at Monza the Visconti, who had opened Lombardy to him, and gave Milan a republican government. He thus drew upon himself the reproach of ingratitude, although Galeazzo by his tyranny had made himself utterly hated in Milan. Lewis avoided the errors of Henry VII.; without waiting to lay siege to cities, without paying any heed to Beltram, the cardinal-legate in Parma, and Beltram's undertakings against Mantua, he advanced rapidly through Lombardy in August, crossed the Apennines and gained the neighbourhood of Lucca, where Castruccio Castracane reinforced the imperial army with his experienced troops. Siege was immediately laid to Pisa. This city had hitherto been invariably Ghibelline but had been forced to renounce

Lewis takes the crown in Milan, May 1327.

[1] Lewis's letter to William of Holland, Milan, June 20, 1327. Böhmer, *Fontes*, i. 201.

its principles by the revolution which had banished Ugo della Faggiola.

Meanwhile important events had taken place in Rome. At the end of the year 1326 the Romans had urgently entreated the Pope to return, and had been answered by a refusal. As soon as Lewis entered Lombardy a fresh embassy was sent to Avignon, to explain to the Pope that his absence would necessarily entail disastrous consequences. Messenger after messenger arrived at John's court. The city became disturbed. The ruins of streets, churches, and palaces still bore witness to the troubles of Henry VII.'s time, and a fresh imperial visit seemed to threaten like disasters. In order to avert them many urged that welcome should be extended to Lewis. Matthew Orsini, the Roman Provincial of the Dominicans, brought, as envoy of the Romans, fresh and more urgent entreaties for the Pope's return. John listened with ill-humour and perplexity. Should he leave the security of Avignon and enter turbulent Rome in order to allow himself to be besieged in S. Peter's by a German king who thirsted for revenge? The envoys returned with empty words, but the impatience of the Romans did not await their answer. The people, so long deceived by the Avignonese popes, incited by Lewis's agents and won by Castruccio's gold, rose in April or May 1327. They banished Robert's adherents, seized S. Angelo, issued a decree, ordering the city to be closed against the King of Naples, and instituted a democratic government. On June 10 the Pope wrote to the consuls of the Guilds and to the twenty-

The Romans demand the return of the Pope.

They institute a popular government.

six popular representatives; he lamented the innovations and implored the Romans to offer resistance to the enemy and to await a better time for his own return.[1] The two syndics, Poncello Orsini and Stephen Colonna, knights of the Roman people, had excited popular suspicion, since, in contempt of the Romans, they had received the belt of knighthood from King Robert. On their return from Naples, they were not admitted to the city but were banished. On the other hand, Jacopo Colonna, called Sciarra, Jacopo Savelli, and Tibaldo of S. Eustachio stood high in the popular favour. Sciarra was appointed Captain of the people and leader of the Militia, and a Communal Council of fifty-two popolani was installed on the Capitol.[2]

Sciarra Colonna, Captain of the people.

This revolution paved Lewis's way to Rome, where he was already proclaimed emperor. At the same time, on June 6 a parliament resolved to send a fresh embassy to Avignon, to explain to the Pope that, unless he came without delay, the Roman

[1] He refers in this letter to the message they had sent him through M. Orsini (Preger, n. 346).

[2] *Die Martis VII. Aprilis Romani—ejecerunt Steph. de Col., et Poncell. de Ursinis factos milites per Robertum—Castrum S. Angeli eis a Romanis ablatum est—et servant urbem pro Imp.* In Verci, ix. 89. The date, however, is doubtful, since other dates in this account are clearly false. I cannot believe that this revolution was the work of a single day. Villani, x. c. 20, is better acquainted with events in Rome than Mussatus in his *Lud. Bavarus*. If the revolution had taken place as early as April 7, the Pope would not have waited until July 27 to write to the Fifty-two that: *nobiles noviter sunt ejecti* (Raynald, n. xi.). On June 20 Lewis wrote to William of Holland, that the Roman people unanimously summoned him to his coronation. Böhmer, *Font.*, i. 201.

people would be forced to receive Lewis. The envoys had instructions not to wait more than three days for an answer; the embassy consequently was little more than a form.[1] It was received by the Pope on July 7, and dismissed with the message that he would send an answer to Rome through his nuncios. On July 27 he wrote to the Roman people, that he regretted the brevity of the time and the insecurity of the roads and of Rome which prevented his coming; he bitterly lamented the revolution, the banishment of the nobles, the people's readiness to receive Lewis; and he exhorted the Romans to remain faithful to King Robert.[2] At the same time he sent two nuncios to the city, commanded his vicar Angelo de Tineosis, Bishop of Viterbo, to institute a public action against the Bavarian, and commissioned Gian-Gaetano Orsini, cardinal-legate in Tuscany, to hasten to Rome, or at least to its neighbourhood, and use his influence in his favour. He recommended the prelate to the popular government, as well as to the exiled nobles Poncello and Stephen, Pandulf of Anguillara and Anibaldo, who had retired to their

[1] The letter of the Fifty-two, *dat. Romae apud Eccl. S. M. in Aracoeli die VI. m. Junii X. Ind.*, in the *Chron. Aulae Regiae*, c. 19, and at the wrong place in the *Chron. Sicil.* in Martene, *Thes. Nov.*, iii. 97. The envoys were *Petrus Vajani*, *Petrus de Magistris Lucae iudices*, and *Gocius Gentilis de Insula*. Nevertheless, even although powerless, Robert's vicars, Pandulf of Anguillara and Anibal Riccardi de Anibaldis, remained in office. They resume feudal relations with Todi on July 4, 1327 (Wüstenfeld, n. 83). Soon after they were banished with other nobles.

[2] *Joannes . . . dil. filiis quinquaginta duobus electis viris per Rom. Pop. super pacifico statu Urbis, consulib. artium, Pop. Rom. Dat. Avin. VI. Kal. Aug. a. XI.* Raynald, n. 10.

fortresses in the country.[1] He also wrote to Prince John of Gravina, who was again to undertake in Rome the task which he had successfully executed in Henry VII.'s time. He was already at Aquila with a body of troops; Norcia, Rieti, the Roman Campagna, the passes which led into the Neapolitan kingdom were all occupied.

John, who had been appointed vicar by King Robert, desired to enter Rome and was refused. He fell back on Viterbo. This free city for the first time had fallen under the power of native tyrants and was ruled by the Ghibelline family of Gatti. It refused admission to the Prince; he laid waste its territory. At the same time Genoese vessels anchored in the mouth of the Tiber and seized Ostia on August 5. The Romans immediately sallied out to do battle and suffered a severe defeat; the Genoese burnt Ostia and retired. The defeat irritated the Romans against Robert, whom they now entirely renounced. The two Senators appointed by the commune, Sciarra and Jacopo Savelli, the Chancellor Francesco Malabranca, and Tibaldo of S. Eustachio, organised the companies of the militia under twenty-five captains, appointed guards and barred the gates. For the legate, the Orsini and Stephen Colonna, who were in Narni with the Prince, were meditating an attack on Rome.[2] The cardinal having vainly demanded

[1] The letter to the cardinal is dated Avignon, July 20; the letters to the Romans, July 30.

[2] According to a document from S. Maria in Via Lata of August 4, 1327, *Jacob. de Sciarra* and *Jacob. de Sabello* were actually Senator[illegible]

admission on August 30, these enemies appeared on the night of September 27, entered the Vatican through a breach in the wall, and erected barricades. The alarm bell rang on the Capitol and the militia hastened to their meeting places. The threatened gates were protected by the militia of six regions, while Sciarra Colonna led other mercenaries into the Borgo of the Vatican. Morning was just breaking. The Romans courageously attacked the barricades and expelled the intruders. Leaving the Borgo in flames behind them, the cardinal and the Prince fled from the city by the Porta Viridaria. Many knights lay dead; the celebrated Berthold Orsini, Captain of the Church and of the Guelf party, was carried away prisoner, and only protected from the popular fury by the magnanimity of Sciarra, his hereditary enemy. The chivalrous Colonna rode in solemn triumphal procession to the Capitol, and in memory of the victory endowed the church of the "Angel Fish-seller," in the Portico of Octavia, with a golden chalice and a pallium.[1] The victory of the Romans was crowned by the failure of an attack on the gate of S. Sebastian on September 29, when the Orsini and Neapolitans were defeated with losses by the militia. A paltry memorial, which has been more fortunate in surviving the course of

The Romans repulse an attack of the Guelfs, Sept. 28, 1327.

the time (Vendettini, *Serie*). The events are described in the *Libro del Polistore*, Mur., xxiv. 736.

[1] Villani, x. c. 21. Stephen Colonna had taken no part in the procession. The fight in the streets is described by an eye-witness in *Fragm. Hist. Rom.*, c. iii. Of the Romans, Cola Anibaldi fell; of the enemy the Count of S. Severino and Godfrey of Granville. See also *Chron. Sanese*, Mur., xv. 78.

centuries than the greater monuments of history, still recalls these distant times.[1]

Sciarra Colonna now invited King Lewis to Rome, and since nothing any longer barred his path, the monarch was able to obey the summons. Pisa surrendered on October 8, paid a heavy indemnity, and received Castruccio, whom Lewis created Duke of Lucca and Pistoja, and appointed rector and imperial vicar. Powerful Florence, defended by Charles of Calabria, would probably have been besieged in vain; Lewis consequently resolved to advance further. He set out for Rome on December 15. He celebrated Christmas at Castiglione della Pescaja, advanced unchecked across the Ombrone at Grosseto and proceeded through Santa Fiora, Corneto and Toscanello to Viterbo, where on January 2 he was received with open arms by Silvestro de Gatti, the city tyrant. Here he was joined, though unwillingly, by Castruccio, who feared that during his absence his Tuscan cities might slip from his grasp.[2] Lewis halted in Viterbo, to await news of the decision arrived at in Rome.

Fall of Pisa, Oct. 8, 1327.

His approach gave rise to violent disturbances in the city. Some members of the Council of Fifty-two were Guelfs in secret; others desired the signory without conditions for Lewis; others demanded

[1] On the inner wall of the Porta S. Sebastiano the rudely scratched effigy of S. Michael on a dragon, with the inscription: *A.D. MCCCXXVII. Ind. XI. M. Septembris. Die penultima. In festo S. Michaelis. Intravit gens foresteria in urbe et fuit debellata a populo romano existente Jacobo de Pontanis capte regionis.*

[2] Villani, x. c. 48. On December 28 Charles of Calabria left Florence, and proceeded by Rieti to Aquila to protect the Neapolitan frontier.

that a treaty should be concluded before he was allowed to enter. An embassy to the King was agreed on. Sciarra, Tibaldo, and Jacopo Savelli, however, who had long come to an understanding with him and Castruccio, advised the King not to pay any attention to the embassy from the Capitol, but to approach without more ado. When the envoys now appeared and laid the conditions of the Roman people before him, Lewis left Castruccio to answer; the Duke of Lucca made reply by ordering the trumpets to sound the signal to march. He himself hastened in advance to Rome, while the envoys were politely detained in the camp, and the roads were guarded by sentinels.[1] On Tuesday, January 5, 1328, Lewis departed. When he encamped on January 7 with 5000 cavalry and numerous infantry on the Fields of Nero, he saw no signs of resistance; on the contrary, the citizens and several nobles, headed by Sciarra, accorded him a triumphant reception and led him to S. Peter's, where he made his dwelling in the papal palace.[2] The King of the Romans entered the Vatican, which Henry VII. had not been able to reach, with a band of heretics and reformers, who intoned the Te Deum in the cathedral of the Apostle. He received no greeting from the Roman clergy; the cardinal-

[1] Villani, x. c. 54. According to the *Istorie Pistolesi* (Mur., xi. 445), Castruccio preceded the others to Rome and induced the Romans to receive Lewis.

[2] *Ipsumque scientes appropinquare, sternentes viam variis vestibus, auro, argento, quaemadmodum Domino factum est venienti Jerusalem, exierunt obviam cum gaudio, et leti dicebant: Vivat rex!—Vita Lud. IV. Imp.*, Böhmer, *Font.*, 156.

legate had imposed the interdict on the city. The greater number of the priests, all the Dominicans, even the majority of the Franciscans of Aracoeli, had vanished from Rome. Several churches stood empty. Many sacred relics, such as the handkerchief of Veronica, which had been conveyed to the Pantheon, were hidden. Nevertheless Lewis had, on his side, a sufficient number of clergy, even some bishops, who celebrated divine service in spite of the ban; the Minorites and other clergy were also ready to defy the Pope's order. Thus the events of the times of the fourth and fifth Henries were repeated in 1328. All adherents of the Pope trembled before Lewis's entrance as before an invasion of heretics; but the Ghibellines received him with shouts of joy in the city which the Pope obstinately refused to inhabit.

4. THE PEOPLE CONFER THE SIGNORY ON LEWIS AND DECIDE TO CROWN HIM EMPEROR—HE TAKES THE CROWN FROM THE PEOPLE IN S. PETER'S—CORONATION-EDICTS—CASTRUCCIO, SENATOR — SUDDEN DEPARTURE OF CASTRUCCIO FOR LUCCA—ILL-FEELING IN ROME — MARSILIUS AND JOHN OF JANDUNUM SEEK TO GAIN OVER THE PEOPLE—THE EMPEROR'S EDICTS OF APRIL 14 — THE POPE IS DEPOSED—AUDACIOUS PROTEST BY JACOPO COLONNA—DECREE CONCERNING THE RESIDENCE OF THE POPE IN ROME —THE MONK OF CORBARA RAISED TO THE PAPACY AS NICHOLAS V.

The King soon made his dwelling in the palace of S. Maria Maggiore; he was free to roam the city

at will, a privilege which had long been denied to any king of the Romans. He summoned a parliament on the Capitol on January 11. In opposition to the aims of the Church and from necessity, he appeared before the people as a candidate for the imperial crown. Unlike his predecessors on their visits to Rome, he was fettered by no vows to the Pope, and the fact gave him perfect freedom of action. The times were essentially changed; the ancient, exalted imperium was becoming democratic. Lewis and his wife took their seats on two thrones before the assembly; the schismatic Bishop of Aleria in Corsica returned thanks for the honourable reception accorded to the King, and in his name requested the imperial crown at the hands of the people. He was greeted with tumultuous applause; the assembly cried "Long live Caesar," and the Signory of Rome was conferred for an entire year on Lewis as Senator and Captain of the people. The same parliament awarded him the imperial crown by a plebiscite and fixed the imperial coronation for the following Sunday, for which function four syndics were to be appointed as representatives of the people. For, as the Romans explained, Charles the Great had obtained the crown only after the Roman people had bestowed the imperium upon him.[1] Although

Coronation parliament, Jan. 11, 1328.

[1] Villani, x. c. 54; *Cron. Sanese*, Mur., xv. 79. The passage most worthy of attention is found in Nicol. Burgundus, *ad A.* 1328 (in Curtius, p. 395): (*Elleranus Ep.*) *desiderium ejus exposuit, ut S.P.Q.R. Impreii diadema petenti deferret. Ad haec—ingens plausus, vivat Caesar acclamantium. Fuere, qui dubitarent, an invito Pont. haec ita rite agerentur; caeterum Pop. Rom. e contra contendebat, suas esse partes Imperium conferre, Pontificis autem consecrare, iisdem*

the ancient elective right of the republic had been set aside by the popes by the ratification, coronation, and anointing of the candidate chosen by the German electors, it had never been forgotten. After the restoration of the Senate in 1143, the Roman people had asserted their rights by acclaiming the King of the Romans, by inviting him to his coronation, occasionally by refusing him recognition. They had invariably disputed the ecclesiastical view of the translation of the empire, and had asserted that the emperor received the imperium through the authority of the Senate and people. The consciousness of this right became stronger after the popes removed to Avignon and no longer officiated at the coronation. Their absence gave the republic a new relation to the empire. It was more independent than for a long time previous. Tivoli, Velletri, Cori, Civita Vecchia, Viterbo, Corneto, several other towns in Tuscany and the Sabina did homage to the Capitol. Powerful republics and princes, even the King of Germany, sued for the favour of the Roman people, while the office of Senator, which even the Pope assumed and which added lustre to the title of King of Naples, was regarded throughout Italy as the highest of republican dignities.[1] Dante's book on the monarchy contributed incalculably to exalt the conception of the majesty and inalienable rights of the Roman

auspiciis: Carolum enim magnum tunc demum coronatum esse, postquam Pop. Rom. eum imperare jussisset.

[1] Dante speaks of the Senators of the Illustrious City immediately after the princes of Italy in his famous letter to the latter.

people. And had not even Henry VII., in his quarrel with the cardinals concerning the place of coronation, appealed to the will of the people? His successor Lewis came accompanied by no plenipotentiary of the Pope; came even under the papal ban. He could, therefore, only assume the crown contrary to the will of the Romans, or take it from their hands. Without reflection he resolved, in defiance of the Pope, to recognise the people as the source of the imperium, and this act, which was at variance with the policy of the Hohenstaufens, became an event in the history of the city and powerfully influenced the immediate future. Lewis was driven to the step no less by the Ghibelline nobility than by his learned publicists, Marsilius and John of Jandunum. For in their treatises they had shown that the coronation at the papal hands was of no more value to the lawfully elected emperor, than the blessing, customarily bestowed by the Bishop of Rheims, was to the King of France. They further asserted that it was only through the abuse of a ceremony, that the popes had appropriated a right that did not belong to them.[1] They therefore demanded the coronation by the people as an effective proof that would put an end to the claims of the pope, and Lewis with courageous resolution left the decision concerning the empire to the Romans.[2]

[1] *Defensor pacis*, Cod. Vat., 3974, fol. 96.

[2] *Concessa Populo, Plebique R. de reb. Imp. potestate consulendi, efficiendique, quicquid statui Reip. pertineret.* Mussatus, *Lud. Bavar.*, Mur., x. 772. The same statesman later extols Lewis as having *in*

His democratic coronation was a sumptuous spectacle, such as Rome had never seen before. On the morning of January 17, 1328, clad in white satin and mounted on a white horse, he proceeded with his wife in an interminable procession from S. Maria Maggiore to S. Peter's. The cavalcade was headed by fifty-two standard bearers on horseback, and troops of foreign knights. Before the King a judge carried the book containing the laws of the empire, and the Prefect Manfred of Vico bore the unsheathed sword. His horse was led by the syndics for the coronation, Sciarra Colonna, Jacopo Savelli, Pietro de Montenigro of the Anibaldi, and the Chancellor of the city, all clad in robes glistening with gold.[1] They were followed by the fifty-two men, the corporations of Rome, the schismatic clergy, the barons and the envoys from the cities. The historian Villani, who has described the coronation procession,

Lewis crowned Emperor, Jan. 17, 1328.

Capitolis sedisse, Senatorem, Consulesque ac Decuriones et Tribunos more Romani Imp. creasse (this is a fiction). *Populi R. concione approbatum fuisse, omnia vasto animo agressum, que viro audaciae, eximiaeque virtutis pertinuerint. Haec, et nomine, et re dignum Caesarem Romanorumque regem nuncupandum* (p. 782). We recognise the new direction the imperial idea had taken, leading to its theoretic renascence.

[1] Minorita (Rayn., *ad A.* 1328): *fuit non per papam sed per quatuor syndicos Pop. Rom. ad hoc specialiter constitutos—corona aurea coronatus.* The names of the four as in the text are given in *Chron. Sanese*, Mur., xv. 79. Villani: *il modo come fu coronato, e chi 'l coronò furono: Sciarra della Colonna—Buccio di Processo, e Orsino degli Orsini stati senatori, e Pietro di Montenero cavaliere di Roma.* With them were the Fifty-two and the Prefect of the city (x. c. 55). The Capitoline Register gives *Buccius Proce* and *Ursus de fil. Ursi, ad A.* 1324, as Senators, a statement which I give for what it is worth. These names are uncertain in Villani.

acquainted with this now ageing Roman of the days of Boniface VIII.? Twenty-five years before he had stood in the burning palace of Anagni, his sword pointed at the pope's breast. He now held the crown of empire in S. Peter's, to place it on the head of a German king, who, for the first time in history, received the sacred diadem from the hands of a delegate of the people. During the consummation of the ceremony many conscientious knights in Lewis's retinue, and even Lewis himself, must have been assailed by doubts. The Emperor, however, soon announced with decision that he had lawfully received the sacred diadem and sceptre through the Roman people.[1] "In this manner," says the astonished contemporary Villani, "was Lewis the Bavarian crowned emperor by the people of Rome, to the great disgrace and offence of the Pope and the Holy Church. What presumption in the accursed Bavarian! Nowhere in history do we find that an emperor, however hostile to the pope he may have been before, or may afterwards have become, ever allowed himself to be crowned by anyone but the pope or his legates, with the single exception of this Bavarian; and the fact excited great astonishment."[2]

[1] *In qua—urbe divina—provid. Caesareo diademate ac sceptro legitime susceptis per nostr. Roman. peculiarem pop., urbi et orbi Dei ac nostra potentia inaestimabili et immutabili praesideamus*—Action brought by Lewis against John XXII. after the coronation: *Gloriosus et Sublimis—Chron. Sicil.*, Martene, *Thes. Nov.*, iii. 98.

[2] Villani, x. 55. Alb. Argentinensis (Urstisius, ii. 124) speaks of Lewis as crowned by Senator, Prefect, and Chancellor. The *Annal. Rebdorfi* (Freher, i. 124) say that he was crowned by the Prefect; so

measures which he was urged by his companions to take against the Pope, caused him to waste precious time, and an unfortunate accident robbed him of his most energetic general. For on January 28 Pistoja fell into the hands of Philip of Sanguineto, who commanded for Charles of Calabria in Florence, and the news quickly drove Castruccio back to Lucca. He was the most important man at the imperial court, was loaded with honours, was Lewis's general and adviser, the soul of his enterprises, and more feared in Naples than Lewis's entire army. Castruccio left Rome on February 1, with 500 horse and 1000 archers, murmuring against the Emperor for having caused him to leave Tuscany. His absence diminished Lewis's power and crippled his designs. He now appointed Sciarra Colonna and Jacopo Savelli Senators.[1]

Sciarra Colonna and Jacopo Savelli, Senators.

After the Duke's departure the Emperor sent a troop of cavalry against the Guelf city of Orvieto. By means of the rack he extorted 3000 gold florins from the tyrant of Viterbo, who had welcomed him with open arms, and then threw him into S. Angelo. Penury, the inevitable accompaniment and scourge of every expedition to Rome, drove Lewis to violent measures. The Romans complained that for the sake of money he admitted to the city men who had

[1] Already, on February 15, 1328, the diploma which appoints Castruccio Duke of Lucca is signed by *Jacob. Sciarra de Columna, Jacob. de Sabellis, Senatores Urbis, Manfred. de Vico Alme Urbis Praef., Thebaldus de S. Eustachio* (Lünig, ii. 2215; Olenschlager, *Erl. Staatsgesch.*, n. 55). Lewis issued it a second time, in order to retain Castruccio's favour, and so also he dates his diploma as Count-Palatine, March 14.

been banished for murder, and that his soldiers seized food in the markets without payment, for the distress was great. On March 4 things came to an open revolt; a fierce struggle took place at the island bridge; barricades were set up. Filled with suspicion, Lewis strengthened the garrison of S. Angelo, recalled his troops from Orvieto and stationed them in the Borgo. Executions increased the discontent. Neither were traitors lacking. The Chancellor, Angelo Malabranca, even brought Neapolitan soldiers to Astura, whereupon the imperialists destroyed his palaces in the city and took Astura itself by assault.[1] The worst was that Lewis, like Henry VII., found himself obliged to impose a forced tribute; the Jews were required to raise 10,000 gold florins, the clergy a like amount, the laity to provide another 10,000. The measure irritated the entire populace.

Meanwhile John XXII. brought a number of suits against the Emperor, whose unparalleled audacity had been crowned by such unexampled success. He pronounced null his coronation by the people, as also his appointment as Senator; he laid on him the anathema and preached a crusade against him. He

[1] Villani, x. 67. *Il cancelliere di Roma, ch'ere nato degli Orsini.* He was, however, Angelo, son of Francis Malabranca, as is shown by the command issued by the Pope on February 18, 1330, to Cardinal John Orsini, to restore to the Chancellor Angelo Malabranca the property which the latter had lost through Lewis; for by Lewis's command Lellus Romani, a member of the Fifty-two, had destroyed all Malabranca's palaces; also vassals *ipsius Angeli in bello Castri Asture* had been *in Servitio Eccl. interfecti* (Theiner, i. n. 747). See also Contelori, *Geneal. Fam. Comitum*, p. 16.

brought the Romans to trial, and required them to submit to the Church within a given date, and to drive the Bavarian from the city.[1] The hatred in the two camps reached a height unknown since the days of Gregory IX. Since Lewis's arrival a formal religious persecution had begun in Rome. In conformity with the doctrines of the monarchists, Marsilius of Padua had been appointed by the Emperor spiritual vicar in the city, instead of the Bishop of Viterbo; he had placed the Roman clergy under syndics, not only in order to compel the priests to celebrate divine service in the churches, but also to pave the way for the election of an anti-pope. The priests who refused to read mass were tortured; a prior of Augustinians was even exposed in the den of lions on the Capitol.[2] Marsilius and John of

Persecution of the clergy in Rome.

[1] Bull of March 31, *Dudum per facti:* Martene, *Thes. Anecdot.*, ii. 727. Of the same date is the *Processus* against the Romans *Quamquam nobis* (p. 736). More practical was the league, concluded on March 2, 1328, between the Pope, Robert, Bologna, Florence, Siena, and Perugia, agreeing to place 5000 men on the way to Florence. Archives of Siena, n. 1559. The Bull of Crusade, *Cum Praefatus*, is dated as early as January 21, 1328 (Rayn., n. iv.).

[2] According to a Roman statistical account of the Avignon period (Papencordt, p. 53) all the churches of Rome fell into three groups: XII. Apostles, Cosma and Damiano, S. Thomas; each with four rectors (the priests formed the *Fraternitas Romana*, with the syndic of the Roman clergy). In Region I. were 44 churches; in II. 177; in III. 88. There were besides 5 Patriarchal churches, 27 titular, 18 diaconal, 28 monasteries, 18 nunneries, 25 hospitals. There were 50 Dominicans in the Minerva, 30 in S. Sabina; 50 Franciscans in Aracoeli, 15 in S. Francesco; 40 Benedictines in S. Paul. S. Peter's had 30 canons, 33 beneficed clergy, 20 choral chaplains. The total number of churches was 424: 11 were in ruins, 44 without clergy, all the others had only one or two priests. There were 785 secular priests, 443 monks, 470 nuns; 260 women immured. This would

Trial brought against John XXII.

Jandunum posted accusations against the Pope on the doors of the churches. The Minorites preached that John XXII. was a heretic, and it was not difficult to prove the charge in the eyes of the people.[1] It was reported in Rome that Robert's *protégé* had obtained the tiara by means of simony, that by his quarrelsome nature he had involved Italy in war, that his erroneous doctrines had occasioned a schism in the Church, that he remained in Avignon in defiance of duty and right, and that he had determined to transfer the empire to France. It was necessary to put forward a pope who would restore peace to the Church, and the sacred chair to the city of Rome. Lewis himself left these matters to the will of the Senate and people; and as he had recognised their right to the imperial coronation, so he gave them equal liberty to pronounce sentence on the Pope.

In order to prepare the way for this great stroke, he assembled a parliament on the piazza of S. Peter's on April 14. He caused three edicts to be read aloud: All such as were found guilty of heresy or

give a total of 2163 religious persons in a population of about 50,000 inhabitants, which I assume for the Avignon period. In 1663, out of a population of 105,433, Rome had 1727 priests, 3031 monks, 3631 nuns. In 1862, with a population of 201,161, Rome numbered 1457 priests, 2569 monks, 2031 nuns.

[1] Alb. Mussatus (*Ludov. Bavar.*) speaks of *Marsilius de Raynundis* of Padua, and *Ubertinus de Casali Januensis, monachus astutus et ingeniosus* as leaders. On the other hand, the Pope himself designates Marsilius and John of Jandunum . . . *duas bestias de Abysso sathanae* —Letter to the Bishop of Viterbo, February 16, 1328 (Raynald, n. 7). On April 15 he orders the cardinal-legates to see that Marsilius and John are put in prison (n. 10).

of *lèse-majesté* were, without further citation, to be brought before the tribunal. No notarial instrument from which the designation of the era of the Emperor Lewis was absent, was valid. All who had rendered aid to the rebels against the Emperor were to be punished with the utmost severity. Assemblies of clergy and laity meanwhile examined into the orthodoxy of John XXII., and found the Pope a heretic. Resolutions were drawn up, which were brought to the Emperor by the syndics of both classes, with the urgent request that, in virtue of his authority as supreme judge, he would proceed against this heretic. Lewis consequently assembled a second parliament on April 18. Platforms were erected on scaffolds over the steps of S. Peter's, and, surrounded by his nobles, his clergy, his schoolmen, and the magistrates of the Capitol, the Emperor seated himself on his throne, the crown on his head, the orb and sceptre in his hands. Never had anything resembling this imperial-democratic spectacle been seen in Rome. Heralds enforced silence on the seething crowd. A Franciscan monk ascended the platform, and in a loud voice demanded three times, as in a tournament, "Is there any one here who will defend the priest Jacques of Cahors, who calls himself Pope John XXII.?" All was silence. A German abbot then addressed a Latin speech to the people, and read aloud the imperial sentence, which pronounced Jacques of Cahors a heretic and antichrist and deprived him of all his dignities. This document, the Emperor's reply to the decree of the Pope which pronounced his own deposition, was

The Pope is deposed in public parliament, April 18, 1328.

the work of Marsilius and Ubertino of Casale. Lewis, an illiterate soldier, understood nothing of the theological questions of the Church. But he utilised the quarrels of the monks in order to discover a ground for accusing John of heresy and for deposing him.[1] For all the remaining complaints (and there were some with no lack of foundation, such as the assumption of the two powers, the denial of Lewis's legal election, the offence committed against the imperial majesty, the accumulation of untold treasure by the sack of churches and the sale of spiritual offices, the most culpable nepotism, the confusion due to war in Italy, the interdict against Rome, the residence in Avignon)—all these could not furnish ground for the deposition. Lewis gave expression to the feeling of the monks when he explained that he had been besought by the syndics of the clergy and people to proceed against Jacques of Cahors as against a heretic, and following the example of Otto I. and other emperors, to give Rome a lawful pope.[2] He consequently represented himself as merely the executor of this sentence, and, in virtue of the imperial edict, without further citation, pronounced John XXII. deposed, as guilty of heresy

[1] Aventine asserts that Lewis was well educated, and censures the chroniclers for having represented him as ignorant of Roman literature. *Annal. Boior.*, 749.

[2] The sentence of deposition, *Gloriosus Deus*, of April 18, *extra basil. Ap. princ. B. Petri cuncto clero et Pop. Rom. in platea ibid. in parlam. publico congregato* in Baluz., *Vitae Pap. Aven.*, ii. n. 76. A second (n. 77), dated it is true the same April 18, was, however, issued in Pisa on December 12. It is a scholastic amplification of the first; the monks therein prove the heresy of John XXII. and refute the Pope's rule with regard to the doctrine of poverty.

and *lèse-majesté*.[1] This proceeding was the practical outcome of the axioms of the monarchists and reformers, who had laid down the principle that the pope could be tried and punished, that his judges were the Council and the Emperor, as Defender of the Church and as holder of the judicial power, and that a pope who had deviated from the lawful faith could no longer have the power of the keys, and consequently could be deposed not merely by spiritual judges, but even by laymen. Earlier emperors had also appointed and deposed popes, but under the forms of law and on the ground of formal decrees of Council. Lewis himself some years earlier had appealed to a general Council against John XXII. But could the Capitoline parliament and a number of schismatic priests constitute a tribunal to judge the pope? The Roman clergy, the canons of the great basilicas and many other clerics were not represented, because they had long since left Rome. The sentence of deposition consequently awoke doubt or indignation among all intelligent people, and rejoicings only among the immoderate party and the seekers after novelty. The populace dragged a straw figure through the streets of Rome and burnt the heretic John XXII. in effigy at the stake. Meanwhile it was not the dogma of the poverty of Christ, but another, against which the Pope had sinned in the eyes of the Romans. He remained in Avignon and despised Rome, the holy city, which, according to the Ghibel-

[1] Villani, x. 69.; *Chr. Senense*, Mur., xv. 79: *E così ne fè bolle sigillate di sugello d'oro, e attaccate a la porta di S. Pietro.*

line theory, enclosed the chosen people of God, and in the midst of which the priesthood and the imperium ought eternally to have their seat.[1]

The bold action of a Colonna showed the Emperor that he would encounter resistance in Rome itself, and that the Guelf party among the nobility was in nowise crushed. Jacopo, a canon of the Lateran, accompanied by four men in masks, appeared on April 22, in front of S. Marcello, produced John XXII.'s bull of excommunication and read the document, which no one had hitherto ventured to make public, to an assembly of more than a thousand men. He protested against Lewis's sentence and the decrees of the syndics, pronounced them null, offered to defend his assertion against any one with the sword, affixed the bull to the doors of the church, mounted his horse and rode unhindered through the city and back to Palestrina. The young Colonna was a son of Stephen, born during the latter's exile in France. Like so many sons of the nobility he had been provided with a stall in the Chapter of the Lateran and was at the time chaplain to the Pope.[2]

[1] *Hanc sanctissimam gentem et urbem Romanam vid., quam Christus ipse in gentem sanctam, genus electum, regale sacerdotium, et populum acquisitionis incommutabiliter elegit, sua personali residentia tota sui vicariatus duratione privavit contra expressam Christi prohibitionem:* the legend *Domine quo vadis* is referred to. This was one of the chief reasons of John's condemnation in the sentence of April 18. Compare with it the theories expressed by Dante in his *Monarchia* concerning the elect part reserved for Rome and the Romans.

[2] On April 16, 1328, Robert, writing to him as such, told him that the Pope had given absolution to all who should undertake the Crusade against Lewis, and that he was to announce the fact in Campania. Ficker, *Urk. zur Gesch. des Römerzugs Ludwig's*, p. 65.

His father, formerly so zealous in Henry's service, had not presented himself before Lewis. While his brother Sciarra was the foremost man at the Emperor's court, Stephen remained at his recently built castle of Palestrina. His prudent reserve secured a brilliant future to himself and his house; he remained in the most friendly relations with King Robert and with John XXII., especially as most of his sons had chosen a clerical career.[1]

On April 23 the Emperor summoned the leaders of the people to the Vatican. The assembly passed the resolution that, henceforward, every pope must make his abode in Rome, must never absent himself from the city for more than three months in the summer, or remove further than a two days' journey, and never without the permission of the Romans. Should he violate these conditions, should he fail to return after having been summoned three times by the clergy and people, he was to forfeit his office. It was a foolish decree, which degraded the Head of the Church to the position of a podestà.[2] So great was the irritation of the Emperor that he even passed sentence of death on John XXII. as a heretic, and as guilty of high treason.[3]

[1] On February 28, 1328, the Pope issued letters of commendation to Jacopo Colonna and to several Roman nobles, of clerical as well as secular profession (Preger, n. 415). He made Jacopo Colonna Bishop of Lombes near Toulouse. He was the friend of Petrarch. His elder brother John had become Cardinal of S. Angelo on December 18, 1327, and was the Maecenas of Petrarch. At this time the two cardinals famous during the time of Boniface VIII. were already dead: Jacopo died in 1318, Peter in 1326.

[2] Raynald, *ad A.* 1328, n. 21.

[3] Nicol. Minorit., *Cod. Vat.*, 4008, p. 25.

The logical sequence of these measures was the elevation of a new pope. The schismatic Minorites demanded in addition the election of one of their fraternity, a disciple of poverty such as Celestine V.; and for the second time the prophetic kingdom of S. Francis was to be recognised in such an ideal. The tiara was offered to a member of the order, but he shrank back in terror, and fled. Another showed himself less scrupulous. This was Peter Rainalucci from Corbara, near Aquila, the former scene of the history of the saint of Murrone. He was a Minorite in the monastery of Aracoeli, and was reputed a man of blameless life, but his after career shows that he was unqualified for the difficult rôle of anti-pope. The simple monk was elected to the Papacy at an assembly of priests and laymen.[1] On May 12 the Romans assembled on the Piazza of S. Peter's, where the scaffolding erected for the scenes enacted earlier still remained above the steps of the cathedral. The Emperor made the pope-elect take his place under the baldacchino, and Fra Nicholas of Fabriano pronounced a discourse on the text, "And when Peter was come to himself, he said, Now I know of a surety that the Lord hath sent his angel, and hath delivered me out of the hand of Herod and from all the expectation of the people of the Jews." The

Peter of Corbara, anti-pope, May 12, 1328.

[1] Lewis threw the responsibility of this election on the people, who forced him to it, as we are assured by the continuator of G. de Nangis (d'Achery, iii. 88). Peter of Corbara became a monk after five years of marriage. Wadding, *Annal. Minor.*, lib. vii. p. 77, relates the amusing anecdote that his wife, who had never claimed the poor monk, claimed the wealthy pope as her husband and that the Bishop of Rieti recognised her right to him.

Bishop of Venice three times demanded from the tribune whether they would accept Brother Peter of Corbara as pope. The crowd assented, although they had hoped for a Roman. The bishop read the imperial decree of ratification; the Emperor rose, proclaimed Nicholas V., placed the Fisherman's ring on his finger, clothed him with the mantle, and made him sit on his right hand. And thus an emperor, whom they themselves had crowned, and a pope, whom they themselves had made, sat in sight of the astonished Romans. The people entered the cathedral, where a solemn service was celebrated. The Bishop of Venice anointed the anti-pope, and with his own hand the Emperor set the crown on his head. A banquet closed the tumultuous ceremony.

Frederick II., who, according to the avowal of the Church, had been her most formidable enemy, must now have appeared as a man of moderation when compared with Lewis the Bavarian; for Lewis ventured on a measure which no great emperor had ever attempted before; he harassed the Church with a schism such as she had not experienced for a hundred and fifty years. With incredible audacity he gave a democratic aspect to the quarrel between Empire and Papacy. He denied all the canonical articles which the Habsburgs had admitted concerning the supremacy of the pope. As the popes in earlier days had formed alliances with the democracy in order to make war on the emperors, so Lewis appealed (and for Rome the fact is one of the most important in her history) to the democratic principle of the majesty of the Roman people. He

took the crown from the hands of the people; he also restored them the right of the papal election. After having pronounced all the cardinals heretics, he caused the Pope to be elected by clergy and laity "according to the ancient custom," and ratified and crowned him of his imperial authority.[1] In his letter of admonition to the cardinals at Avignon on the death of Clement V., Dante expressly recognised that they alone possessed the right of electing the pope, and not a single voice was then raised in Rome, which the popes had abandoned, to remind the people that the election had formerly lain in their hands. It was not until the revolution under Lewis that this recollection was awakened, and that too only by violence.

This important revolution was the consequence of the sojourn of the popes at Avignon, the effect of the quarrel which John XXII. so foolishly invoked with the empire, and of the reforming principles of the monarchy, with which was associated the Franciscan schism. The high-handed doings of John and Lewis, their tedious actions at law, the extensive researches into the imperial and papal authority, formed the close of this mediaeval struggle, which now passed over into more intellectual regions. The age of the reformation began; the ecclesiastical severance between Germany and Italy was percep-

[1] *More antiquitus osservato una cum clero et pop. Ro.—Petrum de Corbaria ordinis frum minor. in summ. pont. elegerunt—nam ante Nicol. P. II. qui primus fuit electus per cardinales in civ. Senensi—Imperatores cum clero et pop. Ro. urbi et orbi de s. pontifice providebant.* Such is the noteworthy opinion of Nicolaus Minorita, *Cod. Vat.*, 4008, fol. 25.

tible in the distance, and became inevitable as soon as the political severance was accomplished. Both powers, the world-historic institutions of the Middle Ages which were pitted against one another for the last time, were, nevertheless, merely the shadows of their own past. The Papacy after the fall of Boniface VIII., after its defeat at the hands of the French monarchy, after its flight to a corner of Provence, had sacrificed its universal majesty for ever. After the fall of the Hohenstaufens, after the surrender of the empire by the Habsburgs, and Henry VII.'s ill-starred expedition, the imperium also had vanished, and Lewis the Bavarian, who degraded it into an investiture by the Capitol, robbed the crown of Charles the Great of the last glow of its ancient splendour in the eyes of all who believed in the old imperial hierarchy. It is very remarkable that soon after the time when Dante glorified the Roman Empire in its highest idealisation, this very Empire, under Lewis and his successors, actually sank to its lowest depth of desecration.

CHAPTER IV.

1. ROBERT MAKES WAR ON THE EMPEROR—THE ANTI-POPE MEETS WITH BUT LITTLE RECOGNITION—LEWIS IN THE CAMPAGNA—HIS RETURN FROM TIVOLI—ILL-FEELING IN ROME—DEPARTURE OF THE EMPEROR—RESTORATION OF PAPAL RULE IN THE CITY—LEWIS'S FURTHER UNDERTAKINGS—DEATH OF CASTRUCCIO—THE EMPEROR IN PISA; IN LOMBARDY—HIS RETURN TO GERMANY—VICTORY OF THE POPE AND THE GUELFS—THE ANTI-POPE MAKES SUBMISSION.

THE conquest of Naples was Lewis's special task and the practical object of his expedition to Rome. It would have infallibly constituted him ruler of Italy and have probably established the Minorite monk as pope in deserted S. Peter's. The Emperor was actively engaged with the scheme; but the absence of Castruccio, the dearth of means, and the procrastination of his allies prevented its fulfilment. King Robert, by sending his troops into the Campagna, challenged the Emperor to war immediately after the elevation of the anti-pope. His galleys pushed up the Tiber as far as S. Paul's; Lewis's forces were driven from Ostia, and these disasters produced the worst impression in the city.

On May 17 the Emperor went to Tivoli for four

days only and merely with the ostentatious object of affording the Romans a pompous coronation spectacle. He returned on Whitsunday, spent the night at S. Lorenzo, caused himself to be received with great solemnity, and proceeded through the flower-decked city to S. Peter's. Here he placed the tiara on his Pope's head, the Pope the crown on his, so that one seemed to ratify the other. Lewis then revived the ban which Henry VII. had hurled against Robert; the anti-pope also pronounced the excommunication against John XXII., and commanded all who refused to recognise himself to appear before the Inquisition. He had already surrounded himself with a college of cardinals and had appointed rectors and legates for the ecclesiastical provinces and for Lombardy. Meanwhile the new government met with opposition among the Romans and even in Lewis's camp: Frederick of Sicily would have nothing to do with Nicholas V.; even some Ghibelline cities refused to acknowledge him, and if he met with recognition in others and sowed confusion both in Germany and Italy by the appointment of nuncios and bishops, the schism nevertheless produced less effect than other ecclesiastical divisions that had been evoked by earlier emperors.

Lewis IV. now determined to advance against Naples in earnest. The first task was to clear the ground in Latium, where Robert, with the aid of the Guelfs, especially the Gaetani, had seized several important positions. At the end of May the Emperor marched against Velletri, while Rainer, a

Lewis's warlike movements in the Campagna.

son of Ugo della Faggiola, remained as Senator on the Capitol.[1] Another force had been sent to Todi, in order thence to check the advance of the Guelfs. Attacks were made from Velletri on the adjacent fortresses; Molara, a possession of the Anibaldi, was stormed by the Romans on June 11; Cisterna, which then belonged to a branch of the Frangipani, was burnt to the ground by the Germans.[2] Scarcity of supplies forced the Romans to return and the Emperor himself to fall back on Velletri. The burghers of this tiny city courageously barred their gates, and he was forced to encamp in the open fields. The temper of the unpaid troops was mutinous; they quarrelled over the booty from Cisterna, and Lewis dismissed the Swabians to Rome and retired with the remainder of the army to Tivoli on June 20.[3] Unable to proceed by the Via Latina, he hoped to make his way by the Valeria as Conradin had formerly done. The Duke of Calabria, however, barred the frontier, while Stephen Colonna defended the strong post of Palestrina in his rear. The

[1] Villani, x. 75. Sciarra and Jacopo Savelli renounced their office; they accompanied the Emperor. Rainer ordered a Lombard and a Tuscan to be publicly burnt, because they asserted that Peter of Corbara was not Pope.

[2] On October 12, 1338, Peter, *fil. q. Riccardi Fraiapanis ex dominis castri Cisterne*, sold to *Urso Jacobi Napoleonis* the fourth part *castri Cisterne . . . cum Rocca, turri Cassaro, et quartam part. Castri et Rocche Tiberie et mediet. Castellanie seu Casalis Gripta de Noctulis, et quartam part. palatii magni et domor. junctor. Colliseo et prope Colliseum. Act. Vicovarie* (*Gaetani Archives*, iii. 21).

[3] The dissensions between the High and Low Germans (Villani, x. 77; *Annales Rebdorff.*, Freher, i. 424) led to the formation of the first independent company of Germans in Italy.

Emperor's position in Tivoli was as utterly helpless as that of Henry VII. had been there. The loss of Anagni, to which the Neapolitan militia were admitted by the Gaetani, rendered Tivoli untenable, and Lewis returned to Rome on July 20.

Nothing but gloomy faces, nothing but murmurs awaited the Emperor in the city. The Orsini already scoured the Campagna to the very gates of Rome, intercepted the supplies and rendered the distress insupportable. The treasuries of the churches, which had been sacked by the anti-pope, were insufficient to cover Lewis's requirements; he demanded money, and money was not forthcoming. The consignments promised by the Ghibellines did not arrive; the troops, who were to have been sent by the Genoese exiles, failed to appear, and the fleet expected from Sicily was nowhere to be seen. Public feeling became increasingly hostile; the people threatened to expel the Emperor, they scoffed at the anti-pope. The schism to which Lewis had wished to give a national character by utilising the opposition between Rome and Avignon, no longer found any such basis. More powerless than Henry VII., he also saw himself ingloriously obliged to withdraw. After having sent his marshal in advance to Viterbo with 800 horse he himself with the anti-pope and anti-cardinals left the city on August 4. His departure resembled a flight. The same Romans who had applauded the Emperor and his idol, now called after him "Death to the heretics"; they followed the departing company with showers of

The Emperor Lewis leaves Rome, Aug. 4, 1328.

stones; their adherents who remained behind were murdered.[1]

Scarcely had Lewis departed, when the revolt which he had occasioned was entirely quelled in a few hours. Nowhere have the actions of rulers made so little impression on a people as the noisy deeds of the mediaeval emperors in Rome. Their brief sojourns only left behind the traces of siege and war; they themselves were derided and forgotten as soon as they had vanished from sight. The very night after Lewis's departure Berthold Orsini, nephew of the cardinal-legate, entered with Guelf troops, and the following day Stephen Colonna also arrived. The people made both men Senators; while Sciarra and Jacopo Savelli, the heads of the imperial democracy, fled without offering resistance. A persecution of the Ghibellines began the same hour: their palaces were destroyed, their goods were confiscated. On August 8 Cardinal John made his entry into the city with Napoleon Orsini, and again took possession of it in the name of the Church. He ratified the new Senators; they summoned a popular parliament, which annulled all Lewis's acts, and ordered his edicts to be burnt by the hand of the executioner. The savage mob now tore the bodies of German soldiers from their graves, to drag them through the streets with shouts and to throw them

Berthold Orsini and Stephen Colonna, Senators.

[1] *Lo 'ngrato popolo gli fece la coda romana, onde il Bavaro ebbe grande paura, ed andonne in caccia e con vergogna:* Villani, x. 94. *Quod* (his banishment) *ipse praeveniens confuse recessit ab urbe. . . . Annales Rebdorff.*, Freher, i. 424. Contin. Guillelmi de Nangis, *ad A.* 1328.

from the bridges into the Tiber. On August 18 the Neapolitans also entered under Count William of Eboli, and the dominion of the Church and Robert's rule were restored without the slightest opposition.[1] Restoration of the Papacy in Rome.

If, from the time of his crossing the Alps until his coronation in Rome, Lewis's undertakings had astonished the world by their courage and success, the end of the imperial expedition was all the more deplorable. He marched here and there through Tuscany, following the labyrinthine paths of his predecessors in the empire, like Henry VII., to tempt his fortune against Florence. He vainly harassed Orvieto, laying waste the country as far as the lake of Bolsena. On August 17 he left Viterbo and entered Ghibelline Todi, imposing taxes and collecting money, while the anti-pope plundered the treasury in S. Fortunatus. Todi became the centre of his undertakings: thence he sent the Count of Oettingen to Spoleto and the Romagna, and even resolved to direct his attacks against Florence.[2] Meanwhile information reached him that

[1] On August 28, 1328, the Pope writes to Philip of France that Lewis had left Rome *cum ignominia* on August 4, that Stephen and Berthold had entered, that the people had made them Senators, and that the following Sunday the legate entered amid the rejoicings of the people. Raynald, n. 51. Whenever the party in opposition succeeded to power in a city and changed its government, this was called *riformare la città*.

[2] John XXII. excommunicated Todi, because it had received Lewis and the anti-pope, had given Lewis 25,000 flor., and had accepted his vicars, among them John, son of Sciarra. Bull *Adv. Eccl. univers., dat. Aven. Kal. Julii A. XIV.*, inserted in a letter of Cardinal Orsini to the Bishop of Spoleto (copy in the Archives of S.

the long expected Sicilian fleet had appeared off Corneto. King Peter, Frederick's son, had actually put to sea with eighty-seven vessels and had sailed to the coast of Naples; he had burnt the unfortunate Astura, where the shade of Conradin still seemed to cry for vengeance to the Sicilians. He had thence entered the mouth of the Tiber, believing the Emperor to be still in Rome.[1] He sent messengers after him to Todi, requesting an interview at Corneto. Lewis went thither on August 31, while the anti-pope and the empress remained at Viterbo. The meeting was stormy: the Emperor accused the Sicilian of procrastination and demanded money.

Fortunatus). In 1332 a vicar of Lewis, *Angelus Sarazeni*, was still in Todi; but on August 17, 1332, Todi appointed syndics to make submission to the Pope. *Lib. Decretal.* in the Archives of Todi. Here also a copy of a diploma of Lewis, *dat. in Urbe die XXI. Maji, R. nri. A. XIV. Imp. vero I.*; he appoints *Bardinus de Piscia* as procurator *fisci Imp. camere;* the copy is executed *auct. m. v. Vannis de Susinana, nati Tani de Ubaldinis de Florentia honor. potestatis Tuderti*, June 14, 1328. The years of John XXII. and Lewis's reign are recorded; the anti-pope consequently was not at first recognised in Todi.

[1] *Forsitan adhuc inulto, qui clamabat de terra generosi sanguine Corradini*, says Nicol. Specialis, Mur., x. 1075. King Frederick was informed of King Peter's naval expedition by a member of the fleet who wrote from Porto Ercole on August 22 and 27. On August 13th the fleet touched at Ischia (Isola); on the 14th at Mola di Gaeta; then at Cape Circello; then at Astura, the lord of which (Angelus Malabranca) capitulated; Astura was burned, Nettuno (Nathone) burned; the fleet then entered the mouth of the Tiber, then touched at Portus Ercolis. On August 22 the Duke of Brunswick and *Johes de Claromonte* went as envoys to Lewis. On August 25 Orbetello was taken by storm, Telamon burnt. From the *Testa de Vita et reb. gest. Federici II.*, Docum. n. 52, and Gregorio, *Bibl. Aragon.*, ii. 234, printed in Ficker, *Urk. zum Römerzug Ludwig's*, p. 99.

The young King, on the other hand, required Lewis to return to Rome, and to carry out the projected expedition against Naples. This being impossible, it was arranged that all the forces were to assemble at Pisa. Lewis consequently left Corneto on September 10, and proceeded by Montalto to Grosseto, which he attacked. He was there met by the important tidings that the Duke Castruccio was no more, and he hastened forthwith to Pisa, to wrest the city from the sons of the dead tyrant.

On his departure from Rome, Castruccio Castracane had repaired his losses with admirable genius; contrary to the will of the Emperor, he had seized the signory of Pisa, whence he banished the imperial vicar, the Count of Oettingen, and then re-entered Pistoja on August 3. His interests had estranged him from the Emperor, and Lewis's return to Tuscany would have inevitably converted the former friends into enemies. The celebrated tyrant, however, suddenly died on September 3, 1328, at Lucca, into which he had but just made his pompous entry. He was only forty-seven years old—one of the most powerful tyrants since Ezzelino, and the greatest Italian general of his time.[1] His death was a release to the

Death of Castruccio, Sept. 3, 1328.

[1] See his *Vita* by Nicol. Tegrimus of *saec.* xv., Mur., xi., and by Manutius with documents. Macchiavelli also wrote a life of him, a rhetorical party-pamphlet, in which the author of the *Principe* prepares his hero. The words which the author puts into his mouth characterise the whole genus tyrant: *che gli uomini debbono tentare ogni cosa, nè di alcuna sbigottirsi*, and *ne mai potette vincere per fraude, che cercasse di vincere per forza, perchè diceva, che la vittoria, non il modo della vittoria arrecava gloria.* Galeazzo's death followed soon

Florentines and was not unwelcome even to the Emperor. True that Castruccio's sons, with a military force, had marched through Lucca, Pisa and Pistoja, in order to seize the government of these cities. As early as September 21, however, Lewis appeared before Pisa, which willingly received him and made him its signor.[1] Like his predecessor he made his quarters here, instituted preparations against Florence, and issued fresh suits against John XXII., on whom the anti-pope also made war with impotent bulls. A mutiny in the army meanwhile produced serious consequences. The Low Germans, who had never been tranquillised since the outbreak at Cisterna, demanded their pay, and when it was refused, 800 cavalry, among whom were counts and knights, quitted their camp on October 28 with the intention of seizing Lucca. Failing in their attempt, they took up their position on Monte Ceruglio near Montechiaro, where they set up a military republic under constables and corporals. They held negotiations with Florence, with the object of entering the service of this state, and also with the Emperor Lewis. They compelled Marco Visconti, his envoy, to remain with them as their leader; they ravished the surrounding country, living on its spoils, and soon after actually seized the city of Lucca, which

Lewis in Pisa, from Sept. 1328 until April 1329.

after Castruccio's. At Castruccio's entreaty, he had been set at liberty with the other Visconti on March 25, 1328, and passed the rest of his life poor and in Castruccio's service.

[1] *Correr la terra*, a drastic and customary expression at the time. Horsemen galloped through the streets shouting the name of the tyrant. Peter sailed home from Pisa as early as September 28. A storm scattered his fleet. The Ghibellines were pursued by disaster.

they offered to the highest bidder. With the settlement of these German troops begins the history of the foreign bands or companies which for almost more than a century proved a terrible scourge to Italy, whose energies they exhausted as a parasitic plant exhausts those of some noble tree.[1]

Lewis remained in Pisa until April 1329, without achieving anything against Florence. On leaving Tuscany, he had no longer any definite scheme of action; for all the conditions had so completely shifted, that his own party became in some measure hostile towards him. Instead of fulfilling the promise made in Trent, to defeat the Guelfs and restore the Ghibellines to power, he had nowhere overcome the former, and had only plundered the Ghibellines and ousted them from their earlier positions. Had he but enlisted the Visconti on the side of the empire, Milan, where their influence was all-powerful, would have afforded the strongest bulwark of his rule; but, on the contrary, he had rendered the city useless at the very outset of his expedition. He had driven the house of Castruccio from Lucca and had everywhere destroyed the centres of the Ghibelline party. The confusion in Italy had consequently become greater than before; every signor and tyrant now followed his own individual aims, and strove as far as he could to secure his own advantage by new alliances, even

[1] Villani, x. c. 105. They conquered Lucca in April 1329, and sold the city to Gherardino Spinola of Genoa on September 2 for 30,000 florins. The ungrateful Lewis had driven Castruccio's sons out of Lucca as well as Pisa.

with the opposite party. The margraves of Este offered submission to the Pope, and obtained their city and the fief of Ferrara without difficulty.[1] They urged the Visconti to take a similar step. For Azzo, who had not forgotten his prison in Monza, must have dreaded suffering the same fate as the sons of Castruccio. Although he had purchased the vicariate in Milan from the Emperor, he separated from him and held negotiations with the Pope. Lewis consequently entered Lombardy to lay siege to Milan; he achieved nothing, but was obliged to confirm Azzo Visconti as vicar of the city and county in September. He then marched hither and thither in the district of the Po, forming idle schemes, such as that of seizing Bologna, and watching his army and prestige dwindle day by day. While Beltram the papal legate sent emissaries of peace to one town after another, Lewis soon found himself entirely abandoned. Verona and Mantua, it is true, still adhered to him, but in ambiguous attitude. His cause in Italy was lost. On December 9, 1329, he went from Parma to Trent, whence he had come. He there intended to hold a parliament of the German states, in order to prepare with fresh means for a return to Italy; but the news that his adversaries contemplated putting forward another king in neglected Germany, forced him to a speedy

Lewis leaves Italy, Dec. 1329.

[1] Their envoys appeared before the Pope with a cord round their necks. He released Raynald and Obizo from the ban as early as December 5, 1328 (Raynald, n. 55), and invested them with Ferrara on May 31, 1329 (*ibid.*, n. 20).

return to the fatherland, where circumstances fortunately made his return to Italy for ever impossible.[1] Thus ended the journey to Rome of Lewis the Bavarian, more deplorable than Henry VII.'s, and equally unsuccessful. Its actual result was the extinction of the last shadow of respect enjoyed by the empire, and the entire destruction of the dream of Dante and the Ghibellines, who had expected the salvation of Italy at the hands of the Roman emperor.

Ruin of the Ghibellines.

The Guelfs, their head King Robert, the Pope at Avignon, and Florence remained victors on the field across which Lewis had marched for two years without leaving a single trace, beyond the ruin of the former Ghibelline party and unutterable chaos. Accident also willed that just at this time the most prominent heads of the Ghibelline party, Passerino of Mantua, Galeazzo Visconti, Castruccio, Can Grande and Sciarra Colonna were removed by death. Silvestro Gatti, the tyrant of Viterbo, was also slain by Faziolus de Vico, a natural son of the Prefect Manfred, in September 1329, when this—the greatest town in Roman Tuscany—surrendered to the cardinal-legate Orsini.[2] John XXII. saw the hand of heaven in these various accidents, but had himself

[1] The *Chronicle of Siena* says of Lewis's retreat: *fece quello che non si truova, che mai nissuno altro Imperatore facesse: ciò fù di ritornare nella Magna dopo la sua Incoronatione, della quale cosa disnore n'acquistò e molto danno fece ai Ghibellini d'Italia* (Mur., xv. 56).

[2] Letter of the Pope to the King of France, Avignon, October 28, 1329 (Raynald, n. 19). Villani, x. 143, and Nerini, *del Tempio di S. Bonif.*, p. 267. Passerino was slain in August 1329 by Lewis of Gonzaga, who now founded the Gonzaga dynasty in Mantua.

to lament the death of Charles of Calabria, Robert's only son. The prince died on November 10, 1328, and as he left no male heir, his death entailed the gravest consequences for the kingdom of Naples.

The restoration of the papal prestige was now the work of a short time. The majority of the cities hastened to make peace with the Church. Lucca and Pistoja abjured the Emperor. The Pisans banished his vicar Tarlatino of Pietramala, as early as June 1328, restored the republic, and sought reconciliation with John, selling the anti-pope, whom Lewis had left behind in their city, as the price of their own absolution. The monk of Corbara remained in hiding in the fortress of Bulgari near Piombino, under the protection of Count Boniface of Donoratico. The wretched man, who only a year earlier had launched the most violent excommunications against the heretic priest Jacques of Cahors, now wrote letters of abject humility to the most holy Pope John XXII. He merited his fate: he died despised, after his prayer for pardon had been granted. When the count had received the assurance of pardon and a suitable provision for life for his *protégé*, and when he had himself abjured his papacy in Pisa, the man who had formerly been known as Nicholas V. was delivered up in Avignon in August 1330. Here he threw himself—a cord round his neck—at the feet of John XXII., weeping, confessed his sins, was absolved and magnanimously detained as prisoner in Avignon, where he died three years later—the most despicable of all the anti-popes that the Church has ever seen.

The Anti-Pope surrendered to Avignon, 1330.

2. ROME MAKES SUBMISSION TO THE POPE—SOLEMN RECANTATION OF THE ROMANS AND THE LEADING ROMAN GHIBELLINES — THE EMPEROR VAINLY STRIVES FOR A RECONCILIATION — MYSTERIOUS APPEARANCE OF JOHN OF BOHEMIA IN ITALY.

If John XXII. obtained a like confession of sins from the Emperor and the city of Rome, then had he nothing more to desire. The city, as we have seen, had changed its front in the course of a single night. After the entrance of his troops, King Robert, who was again recognised as Senator, had ratified the Senators elected by the people, Berthold Orsini and Stephen Colonna, and had then appointed as his vicars William of Eboli and Bertrand del Balzo, Count of Monte Scabioso (called Count Novello).[1] Famine and the excesses committed by Eboli's troops, however, produced such irritation that the Romans attacked the Capitol on February 4, 1329, ejected Robert's vicar and installed a new government. Poncello Orsini and Stephen Colonna, the oft-named party leaders, were made syndics and rectors, and their measures succeeded in tranquillising the people.[2] King Robert recognised them as

King Robert governs Rome through vicars.

[1] A deed of September 7, 1328, Re-infeudation of Franc. Gaetani, shows Stephen and Berthold in office, and Eboli and Novello as designate: *In nom D. congregato m. Pop. Rom.—ad parlam. pro ascensu m. viror. Dominor. Comitis Montis Scabiosi dicti alias comitis Novelli Sen. urbis et Guillelmi de Ebulo regii in Urbe Vicarii pro regim. ipsius urbis . . . de mandato nobil. viror. D. Stephani de Colupna S. R. Pop. militis et Bertoldi de fil Ursi dei gra. alme urbis Senatorum. . . . Gaetani Archives*, xlvi. 22.

[2] Villani, x. c. 97. Poncello (Napuleo) and Stephen ratify the

his vicars, but soon after (in June 1329) appointed as their successors Berthold Romani, Count of Nola, and Berthold son of Poncellus, both members of the Guelf house of Orsini. These men remained pro-senators throughout the following year.[1]

The Romans make submission to the Church.

The subjugation of the city to the will of the Pope was soon accomplished. Under the pressure of Neapolitan arms, the Romans sought the pardon of the Church for the greatest offence of which they could be guilty in her eyes; for having exercised their two ancient rights, the papal and imperial election. A parliament on the Capitol in behalf of the people, and the nobles of the city on their own behalf, laid their oath of obedience to the lawful Pope in the hands of the cardinal-legate, professed themselves ready to make atonement, and elected syndics to bear their confessions to Avignon.[2] Three

Statute of the Merchants as *die gra. alme urbis Syndici et ad ipsius urbis regimen deputati*, on February 16.

[1] Robert recognised Poncello and Stephen as his vicars. He writes to them on June 8, 1329, that he nominates the two Bertholdi as their successors. Ficker, *Urk. zum Römerzug Ludwig's*, p. 135. Both Senators again ratify the Statute of the Merchants on January 26, 1330; Vendettini shows them still in office on November 15, 1330; their vicariate had consequently been prolonged.

[2] A protocol of the notary Jacopo Lelli of Amelia, Act of the Roman people *super constitutione duor. Sindicor. mittendor. ad petendam veniam a papa Johe XXII.* is given in abstract in Petti's *Annals of Todi*, v. 101 (Archives of S. Fortunatus). The decree is signed by *Bertuld. D. Romani de fil. Ursi Com. Palatinus; Ursus et Francis. comites Anguillarie; D. Riccard. D. Fortis Brachii; D. Joann. Dni Francisci; Bertuld. Poncelli; Cecchus Francisci; Poncellus Dni Fortisbr.; Ursus Dni Andree* (all these are Orsini); *Nicol. Dni Stephani de Comite; Angelus Malabrance Cancellarius Urbis; Bucius Dni Johis de Sabello.* . . . Petti wrongly assigns the deed to the year 1328, instead of 1329.

priests furnished with full powers there explained in public consistory that the city of Rome recognised the rule of John XXII. for life. They absolved the Emperor Lewis and the anti-pope and in a series of articles admitted the following principles: that the emperor had not the power to depose and appoint the pope; that the opinion embodied in the treatise of Marsilius was heretical: that not to the Roman people and clergy, but to the college of cardinals belonged the papal election: that the Roman people had not the right to crown the emperor. After this solemn recantation on February 13, 1328, the pope absolved the city, which consequently renounced all those rights of majesty which the last emperor had assumed.[1] John XXII. also required the Romans to address a similar declaration to other Christian dom and to some kings; so important did the pope consider it that the recognition by the Romans of the rights of the sacred chair should be brought to the knowledge of the world. Meanwhile the fugitive heads of the Ghibellines in their fortresses had cause to tremble before the vengeance of the conqueror. Their celebrated leader Sciarra Colonna was (perhaps fortunately for himself already) dead; the others, with Jacopo Savelli and Tebaldo, the most prominent demagogues (after Sciarra) sought

[1] *Abjuratio Romanor.* in the bull *Copiosa*, dat. XV. Kal. Mart. *Pont. A. XIV.*, addressed *Dil. filiis Comm. et Univ. civitatis Urbis.* Printed in *Bullar. Vatican.*, i. 278, and in Theiner, i. n. 746. The three syndics were *Bobo de Benecis, Jacob. Annibal. Petri Gandulfi.*

[2] Letter of the Pope to the Cardinal-legate John Orsini, dat. X. Kal. *Octob. a. XV.* Raynald, *ad A.* 1330, n. 27.

the Pope's pardon.[1] Their procurator brought their recantations to Avignon, when John granted them absolution also; the only punishment was a year's exile.[2] If we read the history of the charges of high treason after unsuccessful revolutions, we shall find for the most part only terrible outbreaks of revenge, and few examples of greater clemency than that offered by the Church under the passionate John XXII. The most radical of all the revolutions against the Papacy was effaced by a decree of pardon, a forbearance, due less to Christian principles than to political prudence, which redounded more to the advantage of the Church than any gain she could have acquired by force of arms.

Avignon was the theatre of scenes which must have filled the Pope with satisfaction. Throughout the entire year (1330) envoys of Italian princes and cities appeared to do penance. German envoys also arrived, fear making the Emperor anxious for a reconciliation: for the Pope incited all the princes of the empire to elect another king. He fixed his

[1] *De partib. Romanis narratur, quod Sciarra de Columna obiit his dieb.*, thus the Pope wrote to the King of France, October 28, 1329. Raynald, n. 19.

Instrument, Avignon, October 13, 1330. The procuration of Jacopo Savelli was drawn up in *Rocha Palumbare*, that of Tebaldo in *Castro Cantalupi* on June 5, 1329 (Theiner, i. n. 754). Their procurator Ildebrandinus, Bishop of Padua, acknowledges that neither of them would admit Prince John, *Senatorem sive Vicarium R. Regis*, into the city; that they thereby deprived the King and Pope of the Senatorship; that they closed the city against the legate, received Lewis, helped him to the crown and the office of Senator, and accepted the anti-pope. The articles to be sworn to, similar to those contained in the Act of the Roman people, follow.

hopes on Otto, Duke of Austria, and on the King of Bohemia; but Lewis, nevertheless, succeeded in retaining the empire. He formed a treaty with the Austrian dukes and offered King John the post of vicar in Italy. On the ground of these treaties, he even determined to return to Italy in the summer of 1330.[1] At the same time he proposed an arrangement with the Pope. He offered to depose the anti-pope, to renounce his appeal to a Council, to revoke all his acts against the Church, to acknowledge that he had invoked the ban on his own head, and to throw himself on the mercy of the Pope. In return he desired absolution and ratification as lawful Emperor. John XXII. might justly reply that Lewis had no right to pronounce the deposition of the anti-pope, for he had had no right to appoint him; and Peter of Corbara had also already renounced the Papacy in Pisa. But the other grounds on which he refused Lewis absolution and recognition drew upon him the reproach of caprice. Had he accepted the offered treaty he would have saved Germany and Italy from a long period of confusion, made his influence dominant in the empire, and prevented the declaration of the independence of the imperium in the decrees of Rense. It was Robert of Naples who more especially prevented the Pope from making peace with the Emperor, while France, prompted by

Lewis holds negotiations with the Pope, who refuses to make terms.

[1] On April 23, 1330, he intimated to *Luysius de Gonzaga*, his vicar in Mantua, that he would come with an army by June 24. Böhmer, *Fontes*, i. 206. Nevertheless, as early as April 24, at Worms he empowered King John and Baldwin of Tréves to effect a reconciliation with the Pope. Ficker, iii., Supplement, p. 360.

its own advantage, demanded the disruption of the empire.[1]

In spite of the restoration of the papal prestige, Italy remained sunk in deepest anarchy. Guelfs and Ghibellines, cities and tyrants, made war on one another with ceaseless fury. The rectors of the Church ruled like satraps in the provinces. The Italians, sinking into the utter weariness of despair, left their country, as after the fall of the Roman empire, to become the prey of the first military leader of ability. The mysterious appearance of John of Bohemia bears clearest evidence to this condition. The chivalrous son of Henry VII. came to Trent at the end of 1330. Brescia, harassed by the banished Ghibellines and by Mastino della Scala, appealed to him for aid and offered him the signory. Scarcely had he appeared when the despairing cities, as if under a spell, yielded themselves to him. Bergamo, Crema, Cremona, Pavia, Vercelli, Novara, Lucca, Parma, Reggio and Modena, torn asunder by parties and oppressed by tyrants, placed themselves one after another within a very short time under his rule. The son of Henry VII., a king in barbarous Bohemia, devoid of means, almost without an army, marched through the country in triumph more rapidly than his noble father, was greeted as saviour, received the homage of the republics, to which he was completely a stranger, and, like his father, in-

John of Bohemia appears in Italy, 1331.

[1] Letter of refusal written by the Pope to King John, Avignon, July 31, 1330. Martene, *Thes. Anecd.*, ii. 800; Raynald, n. 29. The Pope was indignant that Lewis kept the schismatic monks at his court.

stalled vicars in the cities, although without any right to do so, and suddenly found himself ruler of a great part of Italy.[1] John was merely a chivalrous knight-errant. His valour and his personality exercised a great influence over the Italians, but do not explain his success. The Guelfs marvelled. No one knew the meaning of his coming; whether he had been sent by Lewis or the Pope, or had arrived on his own account. The Emperor, whose rights he so boldly usurped, denied all connection with him; the Florentines, whom the King of Bohemia compelled by a military force to retire from Lucca, saw the son of their enemy beside their gates, and in their astonishment asked the Pope whether he had sent him. John XXII. replied to them, as to the Visconti, in the negative.[2] But the mysterious meeting which the King of Bohemia had with Beltram, the cardinal-legate, at Castelfranco on April 18, 1331, and their close alliance, proved to the Guelfs that the Pope was in no sense foreign to the enterprise. The crafty John XXII. no sooner learnt of the success of the Bohemian, than he resolved to make him his tool. He allowed him to obtain power in Lombardy, in order by his means to remove the Visconti, the Este, and other tyrants and to secure the dominion in Bologna to his nephew Beltram.

[1] Dubravius asserts that John came to Italy with 13,000 men, but the statement is very doubtful. See Book xxi. of the *Histor. Bohemica*, which deals with John's actions in Italy.

[2] See Lewis's letter to Gonzaga, March 7, 1331, Böhmer, *Fontes*, i. 211. John Victoriensis (*ibid.*, p. 410) relates that John had answered the twice repeated question of the Emperor, saying that he wished to visit the graves of his parents. Villani, x. c. 171.

At the same time he wished to separate John from Lewis the Bavarian and thus to prevent Lewis's proposed expedition to Italy. As soon as the Bohemian should have rendered these services, the Pope would set him aside as an adventurer. The power of the King, which had grown with wonderful rapidity, meanwhile produced such a state of confusion, that those who had hitherto been his most violent opponents entered into alliances among themselves; the Este, Azzo Visconti, Mastino della Scala, the Gonzaga of Mantua formed a league against him and the Pope, which the Florentines and King Robert also joined. The world looked with surprise on these contradictions, and on the intriguing Gascon policy at Avignon. The Bohemian had conceived the adventurous idea of making himself King of Lombardy and Tuscany, and of depriving Lewis of the crown of empire. The league, however, dissipated his dreams. He went to Germany in the summer of 1331, to France in January 1332, to Avignon in November, while Charles, his youthful son, remained behind as his vicar in Italy and took the field, and at first not unsuccessfully, against the allies. John concluded a treaty with the King of France, and in the beginning of the year 1333 descended from Languedoc with French troops and a body of noblemen. The invasion spread terror through the whole of Italy.[1] John fought unsuccess-

Italian league against John and the Pope.

[1] Petrarch, who was then in Avignon, wrote on this occasion his patriotic epistle in Latin verses to Aeneas Tolomei of Siena. He bewails the ruin of his native country, on which a barbarian prince was now again descending. *Ep. Poet.*, i. 3.

fully against the Visconti in Lombardy, where the greater number of cities had deserted him; with his son Charles he vanished from Italy "like smoke" in the autumn of 1333, without having achieved any practical success. On the contrary, he disgraced his name among the Italians by the fact that he sold cities, which had confidingly given themselves into his hands, to tyrants for money. Above all, his enterprise largely contributed to weaken the republican spirit in the cities and to strengthen the power of the tyrants. Although the history of the city of Rome remained untouched by his expedition, we have nevertheless dwelt upon it, in order that we may not lose the sequence of events and may explain the general condition of affairs in Italy.[1]

[1] Charles, afterwards emperor, described his own and his father's Italian adventures: *Vita Caroli IV. Imp.*, Böhmer, *Fontes*, i. He was then sixteen years old, and won his spurs against the Este at S. Felice, November 25, 1332. On April 14, 1333, the Este defeated the legate Beltram at Ferrara, where Count Armagnac was taken prisoner with all the French knights. The Regesta of John are very scanty in Böhmer, and the *Cod. Epistolaris Johis Regis Bohemiae* of Theod. Jacobi (Berlin, 1849) contains nothing with reference to Italy. A recent work is J. Schötter's *Johann Graf von Luxemburg und König von Böhmen*, Luxemburg, 1865.

3. Decadence of Rome—War between the Colonna and Orsini—Revolt in the Romagna—Bologna attains Freedom—Flight of Cardinal Beltram—The Flagellants—Fra Venturino in Rome—Death of John XXII.—His character—Benedict XII.—The Romans invite him to Rome—War between the factions of the Nobility—Petrarch in Capranica and Rome — The Romans confer the Signory on the Pope—Peace between the Colonna and Orsini—The Roman People institute a Republic on the model of Florence—The Pope restores his authority.

The city felt the absence of the Pope an ever increasing misfortune. Against the dark background of the sufferings of a famished and tortured population, such as no chronicler has adequately described, we may observe the pompous processions of senators and magistrates, or the rude games on Monte Testaccio, but shall discover no trace of any life worthy of respect in the metropolis of Christianity. In poverty and obscurity she withered away, decayed and crushed, a rubbish heap of history, while the Pope, forgetful of her claims, accumulated gold and treasures in distant Avignon. The profound sadness, which is characteristic of Rome in the Middle Ages, is deepened at this period, when the sight of the ruins of antiquity, of deserted and tottering churches, heralded the overthrow of the grandeur of the Christian world. Human passions never had a theatre so overwhelmingly tragic as that offered by Rome at this time. Nevertheless, the

Rome falls to decay.

savage feuds of the nobles, and the ambition of the barons, quarrelling for the shreds of the senatorial mantle or about a shadow or a name, raged day and night above its dust and ruins. The hostile houses of Colonna and Orsini severed Rome as the Guelfs and Ghibellines severed other cities. They numbered equally strong adherents, owned castles and fortresses throughout the Roman territory and allies or protectors in distant places, even in Umbria and Tuscany. One party consequently could not overpower the other.

Family warfare in the city.

In 1332 the feuds became so violent that the Pope sent two nuncios to Rome, Philip de Cambarlhac, his rector in Viterbo, and John Orsini, who still remained cardinal-legate of Tuscany and the Patrimony. From the attitude of John XXII. it seemed as if he intended to come to Italy. In order to render the Bolognese subject to his nephew, he gave it to be understood that he wished to establish the papal chair in their city. Beltram, in fact, erected a fortress here, and the citizens, hoping for the arrival of the Pope, to whom they forthwith made over the signory, did not hinder its construction.[1] At the same time John soothed the Romans by the prospect of his speedy return, and instructed his nuncios to have the Vatican palace put in order. The shades of deserted Rome disturbed the repose of the Pope in the palace at Avignon, for the conviction that Rome was the sole lawful head of the Christian world was indestructibly rooted in the human race.[2] The

[1] Villani, x. c. 197.

[2] A courtier asked John XXII. why he did not remove the Papacy

Romans wrote despairing letters to the Pope and once more entrusted him with the full civic authority. Since he again appointed Robert of Naples as his representative, it follows that the term of the King's senatorship must have expired in the year 1333. Robert made the Neapolitan Simone de Sangro his vicar.[1] John XXII., however, did not appear in Rome. King Philip without difficulty still detained him, and it is hard to believe that the Pope was serious in his intention. The Avignonese popes tormented the French kings from time to time with the prospect of returning to Rome, and the threat of leaving France was their sole weapon against monarchs whose serviceable prisoners they remained. A new and fierce war between the Colonna and Orsini, moreover, showed the Pope how uninviting

and empire to Cahors; the Pope replied with a smile that in that case the popes would only be the bishops of Cahors, the emperors the prefects of Gascony, but that the Bishop of Rome would be pope, and the prefect of the city emperor. *Velimus, nolimus enim rerum caput Roma erit.* Petrarch, *Ep. sine tit.*, xv. It is said that after his election John XXII. swore never to mount a horse until he went to Rome; he went by sea to Avignon and never put foot in stirrup. Baluz., *Vita*, v. 178.

[1] Raynald, *ad A.* 1333, n. 24. According to Vendettini, in 1331 the vicars were: *Bucio di Giov. Savelli* and *Franc. di Paolo Petri Stefani;* further *Matteo di Napol. Orsini* and *Pietro di Agapito Colonna;* according to Wüstenfeld, n. 95, this is a mistake, since these men are found as Senators in 1339. On October 30, 1332, *Laurentius de Villa miles et Henricus Cinthii de Tedallinis*, treasurers of the city, ratify the Statute of the Merchants for the absent vicars, *Stephan. Stephani de Colonna* and *Nicol. Stephani de Comite.* Both vicars were appointed on April 30, 1332 (Vitale), and ratify the Statute of the Guild of Woolweavers on September 1, 1332. *Simon de Sangro* ratifies on November 20, 1333.

was the state of Rome. On May 6, 1333, the heads of the Orsini, Berthold and a Count of Anguillara, marched with a strong escort across the Campagna to meet the enemy. The young Stephen Colonna encountered them at S. Cesario, and the two Orsini were left dead upon the field.[1] The family immediately flew to arms, but in spite of inferior numbers the Colonnas gained the victory. The Orsini achieved nothing in the city; they merely strangled an innocent child of Agapito Colonna, who happened to have been brought to church by servants. The Cardinal-legate John Orsini, the uncle of the slain, was also drawn into the vindictive fray. Desire for revenge and family affection had completely stifled the voice of religion in this prelate. He summoned the vassals of the Church to arms, united with the Orsini, destroyed the Colonna fortress of Giove, and thirsting for revenge entered the city, where he attacked Stephen Colonna in his own quarter. This forced the Pope to take part against his legate. He ordered the cardinal to lay down his arms and restrict himself to his spiritual duties in Tuscany.[2]

War between the Colonna and Orsini, May 1333.

[1] Villani, x. 218, speaks of treason on the part of the victor *Stefanuccio di Sciarra*. The Count of Anguillara may have been Franc. Orsini. In 1333 Petrarch addressed the sonnet *Vinse Annibale* (*Rime*, i. 81) to the younger Stephen in praise of his victory. The lines *l'orsa rabbiosa per gli orsacchi suoi che trovaron di Maggio aspra pastura* show the correctness of the date given by Villani, and bear testimony to the fact itself. Petrarch at the same time encouraged the victors, since the cause of the Colonna was just (*Ep. Famil.*, iii. 3, 4). There is no mention of treachery here, and the possibility is also excluded by the attitude of the Pope.

[2] Letter of severe censure from the Pope, August 20, 1333, Raynald, n. xxv. In his letter, Ep. 3, to the younger Stephen, Petrarch calls

John XXII. had more to lament than the ungovernable disturbances in Rome. Almost the entire State of the Church was in open rebellion. The cities of the Romagna, irritated by the despotism of their rectors and castellans, threw off the yoke of the Church. During the Avignonese period the popes almost exclusively sent Gascons and Frenchmen, mainly their relatives, as regents into the provinces belonging to the Church. Unacquainted with the Italian character, and without any love for the country or people, as a rule utterly unqualified for their important posts, these rectors, like the proconsuls of ancient Rome, utilised their term of office merely to extort wealth and enforce their power. During his long government in Bologna, the Pope's nephew, Beltram de Poggetto, had made himself almost independent. The Italians hated this high-handed foreigner, who was believed to be a natural son of the Pope. Petrarch, who abhorred John XXII. on account of his incessant wars in Italy, said that he had sent Beltram to Italy not as a priest but as a robber, with legions like a second Hannibal.[1] Bologna at length rose on March 17, 1334, with the cry, "People, people, death to the legate and to the men of Languedoc!" All who spoke French were slain. The palaces of the Curia were attacked, and the legate besieged in his newly built fortress.

The Romagna rebels against the Church.

Bologna drives away the Cardinal-legate Beltram, March 17, 1334.

the Cardinal *novus Eugenius ex agno lupus, tyrannus ex clerico.* The cause of the Colonna was reputed just.

[1] *Cum—unum e sacro patrum collegio, fil., ut multi dixerunt, suum (et secund. formam similitudo ingens morumque ferocitas adjuvabat) non Apostolicum, sed predonis in morem—in has terras quasi alterum —Hannibalem destinasset. Ep. sine Tit.*, lib. xv.

Beltram owed his escape to the prudent intervention of the Florentines, who escorted the fugitive cardinal through the rebellious country. The fortress in Bologna was demolished to the last stone; the whole of the Romagna hoisted the standard of freedom, and the formerly powerful legate appeared as a fugitive before the papal throne.[1]

The terrible condition of Italy at this time gave birth to phenomena similar to those which had been witnessed after the fall of Ezzelino. The Flagellants appeared on both sides of the Alps. At Christmas 1333 the Dominican Fra Venturino of Bergamo preached repentance in Lombardy. He drew thousands after him. These penitents were called "the Doves," from the sign of a white dove with an olive branch, which they wore on their breasts. Venturino had given them a habit like that of the Dominicans; they carried the pilgrim's staff in the right hand, the rosary in their left. Enthusiasts and adventurers, innocent and guilty, readily followed his banner, especially since the discipline of scourging was not too severe. The monk led his bands to Florence, where they were entertained for three days, and where many Florentines joined their ranks. They continued their pilgrimage by Perugia to Rome, to pray and institute peace at the abandoned graves of the apostles. Fra Venturino entered the city during the Lent of 1334, with an errant army of more than 10,000 men, who adopted the gentle

The Flagellants under Fra Venturino.

[1] Villani, xi. c. 6, and the bull of Benedict XII. in the action against Bologna, Avignon, January 2, 1338, Theiner, ii. n. 52. The revolution was mainly the work of the Gozzadini and Pepoli.

epithet of "Doves," but who traversed the land more like a swarm of locusts. Among them were Bergamaschi, Brescians, Milanese, Mantuans, Florentines, Viterbese, who, divided into companies of twenty-five, marched behind a cross, singing litanies, and shouting the cry, "Peace and Mercy!" Aged men remembered having seen the predecessors of these penitents in Rome, when the castellan of Andalò owed his release from prison to their means. A chronicler has described this phenomenon of the Flagellants and the attitude of their Roman contemporaries.[1] The brethren of the Dove were men who brought no money to Rome, but who claimed board and lodging. They were, however, willingly received, and Fra Venturino obtained shelter in the Dominican monastery of S. Sixtus on the Via Appia. His followers were well disciplined; he preached to them by day; they sang laudes in the evening. After they had consecrated a banner in the Minerva, which depicted the Madonna between two angels playing the violin, the monk announced a popular meeting on the Capitol, where he would preach repentance. The Romans listened in profound silence to the discourse of the Bergamasco, but criticised his mistakes in Latin.[2] He extolled Rome as the city of the saints, whose dust ought only to be trodden with the naked foot; he said that their dead were holy, but their living godless; at which the Romans

[1] *Hist. Rom. Fragmenta*, in Murat., *Antiq. Med. Aevi*, iii. c. 6. Villani, xi. 23.

[2] *Forte tenevano mente i Romani. Queti stavano. Ponevano cura, se peccava in falso Latino.*

laughed.[1] They shouted their approval when he announced that the Pope ought to make his abode in Rome, but when he asked them to give to religious objects the money which they had destined for the godless carnival diversions on the Navona, they pronounced him a fool. The prophet remained alone on the Capitol. Attempts were made to seize him; he shook the dust of Rome from off his feet, and exclaimed that he had never seen a more corrupt people on the earth. He went to the Pope at Avignon, where he was accused of heresy. For the Church had already forbidden the fanatic processions of the Flagellants and forbade them now. These mystics turned from the prescribed holy places and sought salvation in the enthusiasm of their inward feelings; their teachings were coloured with heresy, and their extravagant character assumed the form of an independent sect, which was at enmity with the existing Church. Fra Venturino, severely censured at Avignon, because he had preached that the true head of the Church could only be found in Rome, was, it is true, absolved from the charge of heresy, but was sentenced to detention in a remote spot.[2] Such was the result of the attempt of the preacher of repentance to turn corrupt Rome from her sins.

The Romans and Fra Venturino.

Meanwhile John XXII. died on December 4, 1334, at Avignon, ninety years of age. He had

Death of John XXII., Dec. 4, 1334.

[1] *E disse che Roma era Terra de moita santitate pe le corpora, le quali in esse iaceo. Ma Romani so mala iente. Allhora li Romani se ne risero.*

[2] Villani, xi. c. 23. The doctrines of the Flagellants had a tinge of Oriental Pantheism. They were condemned at Constance. Lenfant, *Histoire du Concile de Constance*, vol. ii. 483.

spent his long reign in unchristian strife and hatred, without any other love than that of money. In his ambition he had filled the world with war, and the aged figure, seated on the papal throne, presents a revolting aspect. His litigious disposition, his immoderate and at the same time limited mind, had forced the German empire into a dangerous war with the Papacy, and had occasioned a schism in the Church. In spite of his dealings with the world, his days and nights were occupied in scholastic researches into trivial subjects, for he was an indefatigable pedant in study. In his last days he awoke a storm in the Church by the discovery of a new doctrine concerning the vision of departed souls, of which he was pleased to assert that they could not enjoy a perfect sight of God before the day of judgment. This idle dogma about the heavenly state provoked such opposition on earth that John XXII. was in danger of becoming a heretic, and was threatened with a summons before a Council in France. A synod at Vincennes pronounced the Pope's views heretical. He must have recanted shortly before his death, for he in no wise considered himself infallible. The profound commotion which his quarrel with the Franciscans finally engendered largely contributed to vivify and spread throughout Europe the germs of the Reformation, which had long been stirring in Christian society. In this respect his reign was more important for the history of the world than those of many celebrated popes. By their want of moderation Boniface VIII. and John XXII. did more to shake

the Catholic hierarchy than any heresy had previously done. One evoked the secular, the other the ecclesiastical spirit of antagonism to the Roman dogma. For the rest, John, by his actions, gave practical ratification to his theory, that Christ and His apostles had owned property; for although himself an old man of simple habits, this Midas of Avignon was one of the wealthiest of popes. Eighteen million florins in gold, and seven millions in valuables, were found in his treasury, wealth which avarice and greed had extorted from the people by the reprehensible means of the newly introduced imposition of first fruits, and by reservations of all the spiritual offices in Christendom.[1]

Benedict XII., Pope, 1335–1342.

After election on December 20, 1334, and consecration on January 8, 1335, the Cardinal of S. Prisca ascended the sacred chair in Avignon. Jacques Fournier, son of a miller in Saverdun in Languedoc, was a Cistercian monk and a doctor of theology. He had been successively Bishop of Pamiers and Mirepoix, and had been made cardinal by John XXII. He was a learned man of strictest monastic inclination, hard and rude, but upright, and in many respects the direct opposite of

[1] Villani, xi. c. 20. *Galvan. Flamma de gestis Azonis Vicecom.*, Mur., xii. 1009 . . . *nec habuit mundus Christianum ditiorem.* S. Antonino, *Chron.*, iii. 333. The wealth of John XXII. furnished Lewis with the strongest grounds for his decree of deposition: *dum sibi de oblatis inique thesauris curris fecit, et equites adv. Christi ac Sacri Imperii fideles.* Mansi (Note to Raynald, A. 1334, n. 43) says: *ex quo factum, ut cum—moderata respuens consilia pontificium jus nimis urgendum aggrediturr, armis caedibusque omnia replevit.* See Muratori's sentence of condemnation, *Annal. ad A.* 1334.

his predecessor, whose abuses in the Church he strove, with praiseworthy zeal, to remedy. He, too, hated the Minorites, and swore death to the heretics; but he was free from avarice and nepotism, from worldly ambition, and from all desire for war or strife. Although despising earthly pomp, he was severely tenacious of the temporal rights of the Papacy.

Scarcely had Benedict XII. become Pope when he hastened to tranquillise Italy, which his predecessor had left in the flames of revolution, and to pacify Rome, where the war of factions had produced a state of utter misery. A new Pope, a fresh embassy of the Romans, a fresh cry of despair from the aged and now unattractive spouse, who was still unwearied of inviting her faithless husband to return to her embrace. Immediately after Benedict's elevation, the Romans had solemnly invited him to the city, and he had sensibly recognised the justice of their wishes. He was sincerely inclined to grant their entreaties; but scarcely had his intention become known, when it was thwarted by the French King, and Benedict sighed that the sacred chair must remain in French bondage.[1]

No means sufficed to reconcile the hatred of the hostile factions in Rome. Family fought against family, the populace against the nobility, the plebeians among themselves. A truce was occasionally agreed upon, then all sides rushed again to

[1] Benedict's letter to the King of France (July 30, 1335) clearly reveals his state of dependence. Raynald, n. 3. Read Petrarch's exhortations to the Pope to return, *Ep. Poet.*, i. 2 and 5.

arms. Vain were the exhortations of Benedict XII.[1] The factions entrenched themselves in Rome, where they barred one entrance after another. Stephen Colonna held four bridges, the remainder were occupied by Jacopo Savelli and his followers; on September 3, 1335, the Orsini destroyed Ponte Molle.[2] The war extended as far as Tivoli, where Stephen Colonna constituted himself signor. On January 13, 1336, a truce was arranged by the intervention of Bertrand, Archbishop of Embrun, whom the Romans had expressly appointed syndic and defensor of the republic. Napoleon and his sons, Jordan and the Count Palatine Berthold and his brothers, John of Anguillara, Angelo Malabranca chancellor of the city, Jacopo Savelli and the remaining relatives of the house of Orsini on one side; on the other, Stephen Colonna, his sons Stefanuccio and Henry, with the remaining scions of the house, met in the convent of Aracoeli. And here, curbing their mutual hatred, but their eyes scintillating anger and murder, the fierce adversaries held out their hands, and swore to a two years' peace.[3]

[1] Letters to the Roman people of July 21, 1335. Theiner, ii. n. xi.

[2] The date is given in a marginal gloss in the *Cod. Vat.*, 3762, fol. 111 (the *Lives of the Popes* by Pandulf Pisanus): *nota de ponte milvio tyrannice diruto per satellites crudelium Ursinorum die tertia mens. Sept. annis D. currentibus mille CCCXXXV. pont. D. Benedicti P. XII.*

[3] Theiner, ii. n. 20, 21, with the confirmation of March 18, 1336. All the bridges (the *pons Milvius* alone is mentioned) were to be restored to the people; the property of which the Abbot of S. Paul had been deprived was to be given back. Stephen was to set Tivoli free; no fortress was to be restored.

Petrarch in Capranica.

At the end of the same year (1336) Petrarch was sojourning on the estates of his friend, Count Ursus of Anguillara, at Capranica near Sutri. He surveyed with horror the disastrous condition of the beautiful country, which swarmed with hostile bands and robbers; the shepherd stood in arms in the thicket guarding his sheep; the husbandman followed the plough, bearing sword and lance, and everything breathed only war and hatred.[1] When he wished to journey from Capranica to Rome, the Colonna sent an escort of one hundred horse to guide him safely through the hostile ranks of the Orsini. Can we wonder that Benedict XII. turned a deaf ear to the fervent prayers of the Romans for his return?

The civic power of King Robert had expired with his accession; a popular representative committee of thirteen men, captains of the regions, had been appointed, alternately with rectors, nominated by the two contending parties. So great was the confusion that Robert had to appoint vicars even at the beginning of the year 1337.[2] The whole state

[1] *Bellum et odia, et operibus Daemonum cuncta simillima. De Reb. Famil.*, ii. 12, to John Colonna.

[2] To *Simon de Sangro* succeeded in 1334 *Raimondo di Loreto* as prosenator (Vitale), in 1335 once more XIII. men. Vendettini shows as such in June 1335 *Paul. Anibaldi* and *Buccio Savelli; Riccardo Orsini* and *Giac. Colonna* as Senators in June and September. On March 4, 1337, *Petrassus* Count Anguillara, and *Anibald. Anibaldi*, vicars of Robert; *Stef. Colonna* and *Orso dell' Anguillara* as Senators in the same year (Vitale). On April 13, 1337, *Andreas Orsini* and *Franc. Johis Bonaventura* deputies (Vendettini). On May 19, 1337, the Statute of the Merchants is ratified by *nos XIII. capita Reg. ad urbis reg. ad beneplacit. D. nri. S. P. Deputati.* The

of things was provisional and insecure; a constant vacillation between popular and aristocratic government prevailed. The Pope had not yet been entrusted with the dominium; this precious gift was withheld until, finally, in July 1337, the afflicted people decreed to bestow the signory on Benedict in person. The Romans appointed him Senator and Captain, Syndic and Defensor of the republic for life. They hoped thereby to prevail on him to return, for so highly did they value the inestimable privilege of their freedom, and the lordship of the ruins of Rome, that they seriously believed therewith to entice the Pope to their city. For the rest it is clear that the Roman republic remained perfectly independent of the popes, and that in their capacity of signors of the city the pontiffs could claim no other relation to it than that of protector and highest official for life, a position such as that with which other free cities endowed princes or tyrants in temporarily entrusting them with the signory.[1] Benedict gratefully accepted the offered authority. He did not transfer it to King Robert, but first nominated the rectors of the Patrimony and of the Campagna to administer the Senate, and then installed two knights from Gubbio, Jacopo Canti de

Benedict XII., Senator.

same on December 5, with the addition *Senatorie officio ac urbis regimini per D. nr. S. P. presidentes.*

[1] Bull of July 31, 1337. The Pope gives the senatorship *ad interim* to the Rectors of Campania, Maritima, and the Patrimony, and to the Altararius of S. Peter, *Joh. Piscis.* Theiner, ii. n. 42. *Philipp. de Cambarlhaco* was Rector of the Patrimony; *Rogerius de Vintrono* of the Campania and Maritima. Almost all the offices of the administration were filled by priests from the south of France.

Gabrielis and Boso Novello Rafaelli, an old Ghibelline and a friend of Dante, as Senators for a year. The act proves that he determined to maintain an independent attitude towards the Guelfs, and especially towards King Robert.[1] The family feud, meanwhile, broke out with fresh fury. Jacopo Savelli, with engines of war, attacked the church of S. Angelo, of which John Colonna was cardinal, and destroyed his palace. In August 1337 the Pope consequently ordered that peace should be renewed for three years.[2] Some religious men also effected a reconciliation between nobles and people, and this work of peace, in the midst of the inextinguishable hatred of parties, seemed to be the effect of some divine miracle.[3] Benedict XII. was delighted at the tranquillisation of Rome, but not trusting its stability, he ordered the surrounding cities to refrain from sending troops and to take no part in its

[1] *Dil. fil. nob. vir. Jacobo Canti de Cabrielibus et Bosono Novelli Militib. de Eugubio . . . dat. Aven. Id. Octob. a. III.* (Theiner, ii. n. 50). They ratify the Statute of Merchants on March 20, 1338. They pronounce some Orsini guilty of breach of fealty on August 8, 1338 (Parchment in the Archives of S. Spirito in Rome). Boso was learned and a poet; he made an abstract of the *Divina Commedia*. Balbo, *Vita di Dante*, p. 391. On July 26 the Pope prolonged the senatorship of these two men until the festival of S. John the Baptist in 1339 (Theiner, ii. n. 58). On October 2, 1338, he nevertheless appointed *Matheus Napoleonis Orsini* and *Petrus Agapiti Colonna* for a year, until October 2, 1339 (n. 61).

[2] Letter of the Pope of April 28, 1337. Theiner, ii. n. 36. Treaty of peace: n. 43, 44. On October 2, 1337, the Gaetani (Count Nicholas of Fundi and his brothers *Johes* and *Bellus*) concluded peace with the Savelli in Velletri. Colonna Archives, Scaf. xvii. n. 51.

[3] According to Villani, xi. c. 96, on November 1, *Facta autem est haec pax miraculose. Chron. Regiense*, Mur., xviii. 54 (October).

factions.[1] On October 2, 1338, he appointed Matthew Orsini and Peter, son of Agapitus Colonna, Senators for a year.[2] They issued an amnesty, but failed to tranquillise the city, for the people attacked the Capitol in July 1339, expelled one Senator, threw the other into prison, and made Jordan Poncelli Orsini and Stephen Colonna rectors of the city.[3] At the entreaties of the Romans, who now hoped to establish their republic by means of democratic institutions, prosperous Florence sent two experienced statesmen to instruct the ancient mother city in the arts of popular government, and many marvelled at the change of times and circumstances.[4] According to the Florentine model, taxes were imposed, and thirteen priors of guilds, a gon-

Matthew Orsini, Peter Colonna, Senators, 1338.

[1] He wrote thus to Perugia on April 13, 1338, and April 28, 1339. Archives of Perugia, Credenza ii., Cass. iv. n. 116, 120.

[2] Theiner, ii. n. 61. He consequently annulled the decree of July 26, 1338. *Bullar. Vat.*, i. 306. The peace between the Colonna and Orsini does not appear to have been ratified until October 1338. In the *Lib. Decretal.* of the Archives of Todi, fol. 114, it is recorded that their envoys of peace came to Todi on November 10, 1338.

[3] The Statutes of Rome of the year 1471, lib. ii. n. 250, still refer to this amnesty (*Misericordia*). The Pope blames the incapable Senators, letter of May 21, 1339. Theiner, ii. n. 75. He protested against Jordan and Stephen on July 21 and December 1, 1339, n. 80, 87, 88.

[4] Villani, xi. c. 96. Tancredus, professor of physic, and the judge Paul Aglie were made syndics by the people on September 7, 1339, to go to Florence. The Act (Archives of Florence, *Atti pubb.*, n. 29) is issued by the *consil. omn. consulum artium urbis, XIII capitum reg., alior. XIII bonor. viror. super grascia deputator., et alior. XIII bon. vir. deputator. super accabella . . . Act. in palatio Capitolii praes. hiis testib., scil. D. Gregorio de Fuscis de Berta, D. Andrea de Maximis, D. Sabba Johis Riccardi Judicibus de Urbe, et D. Guidone de Gallo Judice.*

falonier of justice, and a captain were appointed. But the Pope protested against these innovations, ordered the rectors to resign their authority, appointed vicars, and then on March 1, 1340, made Tibaldo of S. Eustachio and Martin Stefaneschi Senators for six months.[1] In order to win over the hungry populace he sent 5000 gold florins for distribution; and indeed the city soon showed itself again ready to recognise his dominion. For Benedict XII. was a strong, upright, and peace-loving man, and was determined to curb the tyranny of the hereditary nobility. He also defended the oppressed provinces of the Church against the arbitrary depredations of their rectors.[2] The new Senators now acted with energy against some of the leading men, such as Francesco de Albertescis of Caere and Anibaldo of Monte Compatri; but Berthold Orsini and Jacopo Savelli snatched the guilty out of the hands of justice, forced their way into Rome, and seized the church of Aracoeli. The Senators vanished from the Capitol, when Berthold and Paul Conti proclaimed themselves captains of the people. But as the Pope sent a nuncio em-

Tibaldo of S. Eustachio and Martin Stefaneschi, Senators, 1340.

[1] *Napol. de Tibertis*, Rector of the Campania and Maritima, and the Altararius *Petrus Laurentii* provisionally on December 1, 1339. Theiner, ii. n. 89. They ratify the Statute of the Merchants on February 7, 1340. Vitale gives the epitaph placed to the memory of P. Laurentii who was buried in *S. M. in Publicolis*. The Altararius of S. Peter's presided over the *Fabbrica* of the cathedral and was *Cura Palatii*. Bull of July 23, 1325, *Bullar. Vatic.*, i. 271. For the appointment of Theobald and Martinus, see Theiner, ii. n. 93. They sign the Statute of the Merchants on April 26, 1340.

[2] On May 21, 1339, he appointed *Joh. de Amelio* as *reformator gen. rector. et officialium terrar. Eccl. R.* Theiner, ii. n. 70.

powered to make use of spiritual censures, these captains were banished, and order was restored.[1] Ursus of Anguillara and Jordan Orsini then assumed the senatorial authority.[2]

Ursus of Anguillara and Jordan Orsini, Senators, 1340 and 1341.

Such were the conditions of Rome during the long absence of the Pope. The unfortunate people saw all their attempts to obtain peace and impose a check on the barons frustrated, and sought for some one who would deliver them from their intolerable misery. A memorable festival, the coronation of a poet on the Capitol, took place precisely at this terrible period, and contributed to awake ancient memories, and to fashion out of them singular events.

[1] Letter of the Pope to the expelled Senators, June 16, 1340. Theiner, ii. n. 107. The Alberteschi, a branch of the Normanni, owned Caere. In a deed of January 26, 1323, given from Caere, a Normandus confers the *Castr. Guidonis*, outside Porta S. Pancrazio, on the widow of Albertus Andree Normandi. *Archiv. Florent. Roccett. di Fiesole.* A. 1347 the Pope writes to *Stephan. natus q. Normanni de Albertescis.*

[2] Theobald and Martin, appointed on March 1, 1340, must have remained in office until September (Theiner, ii. n. 109). Ursus and Jordan remained till July 1341. They are found in the Statute of the Merchants on February 1, 1341. Monaldeschi's statement (p. 540) with regard to the five years' senatorship of the younger Stephen Colonna is a fiction, as, I conjecture, is the whole Chronicle that bears his name. How could the Pope have dared and succeeded in accomplishing such a stroke? On July 23, 1341 (n. 123), the Pope also names Ursus and Jordan as Senators, whom he had appointed for six months up to that date, and in no wise speaks of them as representatives of Stephen. After them, on September 14, 1341, *Francisc. de Sabello* and *Paulus Nicolai de Anibal.* ratify the Statute of the Merchants as *Alme Urbis Senatores* and not until 1342 did Stephen appear beside Berthold Orsini as Senator.

CHAPTER V.

1. Francesco Petrarca — His Friendship with the House of Colonna—His longing for Rome and first arrival in the City—Impression exercised on him by Rome—Is crowned as Poet on the Capitol—Diploma of the Senate.

The life of Petrarch is as closely interwoven with the history of Italy as that of Dante before him. His writings and letters enlighten us as to many events and serve as documents of the time. Through Petrarch, her most gifted representative, Italy protested against the French popes, and with Petrarch begins the renascance of classic learning.

Petrarch. Like Dante he was a Florentine, though born in Arezzo (July 20, 1304), whither his father, who had been sentenced to banishment, had been forced to withdraw. In 1313 the family went to Avignon, where many Italians resorted at this period in search of fortune. The youthful Petrarch pursued his studies at Carpentras, at Montpellier, and then at Bologna, whence he returned to Avignon, after the death of his father, in 1326.[1] He here formed a last-

[1] Besides the *Mémoires pour la vie de François Pétrarque* by De Sade, the reader may consult the edition of the *Ep. de reb. familiarib. et variae* of Petrarch by Jos. Fracassetti, Flor., 1859, and in vol. i. will find the chronological tables concerning the events of Petrarch's

ing friendship with some of the most respected members of the house of Colonna, among whom were John of S. Vito brother, and Jacopo and John sons, of the celebrated Stephen. Jacopo Colonna, the young priest, who had already made a name for himself by his courageous resistance of Lewis the Bavarian in Rome, was now Bishop of Lombes and had been Petrarch's fellow-student. He introduced his friend to his brother Cardinal John, a man held in high esteem on account of his culture, wealth, and family, and whose hospitable palace was the resort of many illustrious men. Petrarch became the cardinal's confidant, and by his means won the favour of the aged Stephen when the latter came to Avignon in 1331 to confer with the Pope with a view to the tranquillisation of Rome.[1]

Petrarch ardently longed to visit the city. Since childhood its heroes, poets, and monuments had filled him with such enthusiastic reverence, that he

life. The most recent writings respecting the poet are *Petrarca*, by L. Geiger, Leipzig, 1874; *Petrarca's Leben und Werke*, by G. Körting, Leipzig, 1878; Georg. Voigt, *Die Wiederbel. des class. Altert.*, 2nd edition, 1880; Vol. i., *Renaissance und Humanismus in Ital. und Deutschl.*, by L. Geiger, Berlin, 1882, Chap. 3.

[1] To this year belongs Petrarch's sonnet:—

Gloriosa Colonna, in cui s'appoggia
Nostra Speranza, e'l gran nome Latino.

To the genealogical table in vol. v. p. 541, we may add the following:—

Stephen Colonna—Calcaranda di Giordano de Insula.

Stephen, the Younger.	John, Cardinal, died June 29, 1348.	Jacopo, Bishop of Lombes, died 1341.	Agapitus, Bishop of Luni, about 1344.	Jordan, Bishop of Luni, after 1344.	Peter, Canon of the Lateran.	Henry.

only beheld the present clothed in the forms of Roman antiquity. He wrote to Jacopo of Lombes: "My longing to see Rome, deserted and merely the shadow of ancient Rome though she is, is scarcely to be believed. Seneca seems to me to rejoice, as he writes to Lucilius from the villa of Scipio Africanus, and to deem himself fortunate to have seen the place where that celebrated man lived in exile, and to which he bequeathed his ashes, rejected by his native country. If a Spaniard was capable of these feelings, what think you must I, an Italian, feel? The question is not of the villa at Linternum, but of the city of Rome, where Scipio was born and educated, of the city which never has had, and never will have, an equal."[1] At last he came to Rome from Capranica, the castle of Count Ursus of Anguillara, who was married to Agnes, daughter of Stephen Colonna.[2] Under the escort of his friends he entered the city in the beginning of February 1337. Cardinal John had advised him to visit Rome, in order that the sight of the ruinous present might efface the enthusiastic picture formed by the poet's imagina-

His first appearance in Rome, Jan. 1337.

[1] *Famil.*, ii. Ep. 9, Avignon, December 21, 1334.

[2] Stephen had six daughters: Agnes; Agnesina, married to John Anibaldi of Ceccano; Joanna, married to Dominic of Anguillara; Margarita, married to John Conti; two others were nuns in *S. Silvestro in Capite*. Petrarch extolled Agnes and Joanna as the noblest women of their time (*Fam.*, ii. 15). De Sade, i. 110, asserts that Joanna married Peter, son of Richard Frangipane, in 1323. But in a document of April 3, 1343, I find her spoken of as the widow of Anguillara: *D. Johannam relictam qd. m. v. Dominici Comitis Anguillarie et Margaritam relictam qd. Johis de Comite germanas sorores et filias m. v. D. Stephani de Columpna. Mscr. Vatican.*, 7931, fol. 63.

tion; but Petrarch was so overwhelmed by the impression made by the city, that he wrote to the cardinal that everything appeared grander than he had expected.[1] He wandered through Rome under the guidance of the Colonna, who, more especially John of S. Vito, proud of being Romans, cherished a fervent love for the monuments, with whose history they were probably more intimately acquainted than their illiterate fellow citizens. Petrarch blushed at the gross ignorance of the Romans; he discovered that Rome was nowhere less known than in Rome itself, and observed to his friends that the city would never rise from her misery until she had learnt to know herself again.[2] It is interesting to picture him in the company of those celebrated Romans, whose names are as imperishable in mediaeval history as those of the Scipios in antiquity, and to follow him in his rambles through the ruins, where, seated on the fragments of columns, the friends lamented the fall of the illustrious city. In these lonely walks, Petrarch's glance may have rested on a poorly clad young Roman, of handsome form and enthusiastic

[1] He writes in the first letter which has been preserved to us from Rome: *Vero major fuit Roma, majoresque sunt reliquiae, quam rebar. Jam non orbem ab hac urbe domitum, sed tam sero domitum miror. Vale. Romae, Idib. Martiis. In Capitolio. Fam.*, ii. 14. The date caused de Sade to believe that Petrarch dwelt on the Capitol; he probably lived, however, in the Colonna palace. Stephen and Paul Anibaldi were not, as he supposes, Senators at this time, but Petrassus Anguillara and Anibald. Anibaldi, who sign an act on March 14, 1337.

[2] *Qui enim hodie magis ignari rerum Romanarum sunt, quam Romani cives? Invitus dico. Nusquam minus Roma cognoscitur, quam Romae.—Quis—dubitare potest, quin illico surrectura sit, si coeperit se Roma cognoscere. Fam.*, vi. 2, to *Joh. a S. Vito.*

mien, who, filled with patriotic fervour, roamed amid the ruins to decipher the inscriptions which they revealed. The youth at this time would scarcely have ventured to approach the already celebrated poet. But only ten years later, Petrarch addressed him in inspired odes, and Stephen, the aged hero, wept the overthrow of his illustrious house at the hands of the same plebeian.[1]

With Petrarch's arrival the history of the city acquires traits of individual life and a completely modern character, in which for the first time men who took active part in contemporary affairs appear vividly before us. Petrarch's brief sojourn inspired him to write a poetic epistle to Benedict XII., whom he summoned to return to the deserted city, the incalculable misery of which he beheld with his own eyes.[2] On leaving Rome previous to the summer of 1337, he bore with him the strengthened desire to make the attainment of the poet's laurels the highest object of his study and ambition. He also conceived the bold idea of emulating Virgil's renown by an epic poem, *Scipio Africanus*.[3] This now un-

[1] Cola di Rienzo was at this time twenty-four years old and was undoubtedly in Rome. Stephen had a presentiment of the fall of his house; he said to Petrarch: *filiorum meor. omnium heres ero.* In his letter of condolence on the death of Cardinal John in 1348, Petrarch reminded him of this. *Famil.*, viii. 1.

[2] *Carm.*, i. Ep. 5.

[3] Petrarch wrote to Cardinal John: *Putabas me grande aliquid scripturum, cum Romam pervenissem. Ingens mihi forsan in posterum scribendi materia oblata est: in praesens nihil est quod inchoare ausim, miraculo rerum tantarum et stuporis mole obrutus.* An entirely modern feeling which is still experienced. From the Capitol, March 15, 1337. *Fam.*, iv. Ep. 12.

readable and long forgotten production was begun in his solitude at Vaucluse in 1339, and was not known to the world when the highest poetic honours were actually conferred upon him. His lyric verses, his poetic letters, his talents and studies, finally, his extensive intercourse with the foremost men of the time, had rendered Petrarch celebrated in France and Italy as a genius of the first rank. In an age of passionate enthusiasm for the poetic art, belief in his "divine" talent was so universal, that no one asked whether he really had done anything to merit the laurels of Virgil. If the severe judgment of posterity may doubt the fact, it will nevertheless admit that in this extraordinary man, the prince of the intellects of the time, the hero of the learning of a new age was crowned with every justification. On August 30, 1340, Petrarch received at Vaucluse invitations both from the Chancellor of the University of Paris and from the Roman Senate to receive the laurel crown in public. The poet, intoxicated with success, wavered between the celebrated school of learning and the Capitol which mouldered in ignorance, but decided to receive the laurel in Rome, "over the ashes of the ancient singers," and Cardinal John encouraged him in his patriotic resolve.[1]

The honourable custom of crowning poets with leaves of laurel or oak had been derived by the Romans from the Greeks. We know that poets were also crowned at the games which Nero instituted on the Capitol every five years, and which

[1] *Fam.*, iv. Ep. 4, 5, 6.

Coronations of poets.

were revived by Domitian.[1] These games, the art of poetry itself and the laurel wreath sacred to it, vanished in the ruins of the Roman empire. The statue erected in honour of Claudian was the last monument dedicated to genius in Rome. But the ancient custom had been revived in Italian cities after the end of the thirteenth century. Poets were publicly crowned before the time of Petrarch; Albertinus Mussatus, historian and poet, and Bonatinus in Padua; Convennole, Petrarch's tutor in Prato; and even Dante, living in exile, looked with ardent longing to the day when he would receive the supreme distinction in the chapel of S. Giovanni in Florence.[2]

Petrarch, thirsting for fame, wished to impart the greatest lustre to his coronation by subjecting him-

[1] An inscription from Guasto in the Abruzzi shows that in A.D. 106 L. Valerius Pudens, a boy of thirteen, was crowned as poet on the Capitol. Tiraboschi, ii. 89. According to Martial, iv. *Epig.* 54, the Capitoline victors were crowned with oak-leaves. Nevertheless the laurel remained the plant of Apollo, and, quite apart from Laura, Petrarch would have esteemed it as such.

[2] *Con altra voce omai, con altro vello*
Ritornerò poeta, ed in sul fonte
Del mio battesmo prenderò 'l capello.
—*Parad.*, xxv.

Also in Canto i. of the *Paradiso*:—

Venir vedra' mi al tuo diletto legno,
E coronarmi allor di queste foglie.

The *capello* shows that a hat was placed on the head of a poet as well as on that of a doctor. In *Purgatorio*, xxvii., Virgil sets his pupil free, saying: *Fuor se' dell' erte vie, fuor se' dell' arte Per ch' io te sopra te corono e mitrio.* See, with reference to the coronation of poets, Vincenzo Lancetti, *Memorie intorno ai poeti laureati*, Milan, 1839.

self beforehand to a public test of his talents and attainments, and resolved to undergo it in presence of King Robert of Naples, the most celebrated prince of Italy at the time. The King enjoyed an undeserved reputation as a lover of learning, and was himself the author of tedious lucubrations on religious and profane questions. Petrarch, who had already entered into correspondence with this spiritless and heartless despot, called him, in courtly flattery, the king of philosophers and poets. In February 1341 he set sail for Naples, where he was received with honour.[1] The curious examination which the poet underwent in presence of the King was pedantic and in bad taste. It nevertheless redounded to the honour of both, and must have attracted the attention of the whole of the learned world. After an examination lasting several days, the enemy of Henry VII. bestowed on the candidate for immortality a diploma addressed to the Roman Senate, in which the King pronounced him worthy of the laurel. Robert in vain urged the poet to receive the crown of honour from his own hand in Naples, where Virgil rested in his imaginary grave under a laurel tree. By force of arms Robert had prevented the corona-

Petrarch and King Robert.

[1] He wrote to the Bishop of Lombes from Avignon as late as February 15. As a philosopher, he admitted the vanity of the coronation, which he nevertheless earnestly desired—a man of modern temperament; how far removed from Dante! *Scientiae autem et virtutis sedes est animus; ibique, non in frondosis ramis, avicularum more, nidificant. Quorsum igitur hic frondium apparatus? Quid respondeam quaeris? Quid putas? Nisi illud sapientis Hebraeorum: vanitas vanitatum, et omnia vanitas? Sed sic sunt mores hominum.* *Fam.*, iv. 6.

tion of an emperor in Rome, but with theatrical enthusiasm he encouraged the coronation of a poet. He presented Petrarch with his own mantle to wear on the Capitol, and dismissed him in the company of two knights, his representatives at the solemnity. Petrarch entered the city on April 6, 1341.

Jordan Orsini and Ursus of Anguillara, Senators, 1341.

At this time the Senators were Jordan Orsini and Ursus of Anguillara, a friend of the poet and a distinguished man, who also cultivated the muses amid the din of vindictive warfare.[1] Preparations were made in the great hall of the Senate for Easter day (April 8) for the most peaceful of all coronations which Rome ever beheld. The deserted Capitol, hitherto the theatre of tempestuous parliaments or of bloody frays, which seven years before had served as the tribune for Fra Venturino and his brethren of the Dove, was graced by a scene which, for the first time for more than a thousand years, was dedicated to the cult of genius. To the coronation of emperors and popes was added the entirely new spectacle of the coronation of a poet. Recollections of the fairest glories of antiquity awoke the liveliest curiosity among all, fanatical enthusiasm among many. Petrarch, in deciding to receive the poet's laurels only on the Capitol, thereby gave it to be understood that Rome, abandoned by history, was the sacred altar from which the West had lighted the

[1] *In hoc ecce Caprarum (Capranice), immo vero leonum ac tigridum monte, quolibet agno mitior Ursus iste tuus habitat, Anguillariae comes—inter bella securus—Pieridum familiarissimus et excellentium ingeniorum mirator elegantissimus et laudator. Fam.*, ii. 13, to Cardinal John from Capranica, A. 1337.

fire of her culture. The ceremonies of the festival, the persons who took part in it, or were present as spectators, senators, magistrates, guilds, knights and people, beautiful women, the hero of the day, a poet in the mantle of a king, and the ancient hall of the Capitol adorned with tapestries and flowers, would have combined to form one of the most splendid and curious pictures of the Middle Ages had we been able faithfully to reproduce it.[1] The coronation was performed according to the ceremonial used in conferring the degree of magister at a university. Only one account—the authenticity of which is suspected—claims to be contemporary. The function opened with a procession, accompanied by the sound of trumpets, to the great hall of the Palace of the Senate. Twelve pages, clad in scarlet, sons of patrician families, stepped forward and declaimed Petrarch's verses to the glory of the Roman people. They were followed by six citizens attired in green, carrying garlands of various colours, then by the Senator Ursus, a laurel wreath on his head, and surrounded by various distinguished Romans. The Senator having taken his seat on the chair, Petrarch was summoned by a herald. The poet delivered a Latin address to the Roman people on a text from Virgil.[2] He spoke of the difficulty of the poet's art,

Petrarch crowned as poet on the Capitol, April 8, 1341.

[1] Petrarch speaks of his coronation several times in his letters, as in the *Epistola ad Posteros*; he does not, however, describe it.

[2] The lines of Virgil were from the *Georgics*, iii. 291 :—

Sed me Parnassi deserta per ardua dulcis
Raptat amor—

Petrarch's memorable coronation address is authentically preserved to us; it was published from a *Cod. Magliabech.* on the occasion of the

and of the hindrances which he himself had had to encounter; he said that he was covetous of glory like all high-minded men, that he had not striven for the laurels from ambition alone, but also that he might excite others by his example to the zealous study of learning; and although invited by other cities, especially by Paris, he had, out of reverence for ancient recollections and from patriotic motives, chosen to receive the poet's crown only at the hands of illustrious Rome. He ended his speech by an entreaty to the Senator to award him the wreath, since, according to ancient custom, the Roman people had conferred upon him the right to wear it. Then he kneeled before Count Ursus; the noble Senator spoke a few words in his praise, took the laurels from his own head, and crowned the poet. "Take the wreath," he said; "it is the reward of virtue." Petrarch thanked him in a sonnet to the honour of the Romans, and Stephen Colonna replied in a panegyric on the poet. The people shouted, "Long live the Capitol and the poet."[1]

Petrarch jubilee by Attilio Hortis, *Scritti Inediti di Francesco Petrarca*, Trieste, 1874, pp. 311–328. The speech is bombastic and obscure: Petrarch's idol, Cicero, would have been ashamed of its Latin.

[1] Stephen's panegyric (*me laudibus amplis accumulat*) is mentioned by Petrarch, *Ep. Poet.*, ii. 1 (to Johes Barrili); this is the only account of his coronation to be found in his works. *Lauream poeticam adhuc scholasticus rudis adeptus sum. Haec mihi laurea scientiae nihil, plurimum vero quaesivit invidiae*, said he in old age: *Ep. ad Posteros*. The above-mentioned account of the coronation ceremony is by Monaldeschi (Mur., xii. 540). I think it spurious, although its author was acquainted with Petrarch's speech. The sonnet which he mentions is not to be found in the works of the poet.

Among the spectators of the imposing solemnity our glance discovers Cola di Rienzi, the enthusiastic youth intoxicated with recollections of antiquity, whom Petrarch then saw for the second time. The coronation made perhaps a deeper impression on him than even on Petrarch himself. Only a few years passed and the yet unknown Cola sat in the chair of the Senator in the same hall of the Capitol, a fantastic wreath on his head, while aristocrats belonging to the oldest families of Rome, berretta in hand, stood before him, and the people ceaselessly applauded him as their saviour and deliverer. Only a few years more and the hero Stephen paced the same palace in the darkness of night, expecting his execution, beating at the doors which he implored the officers of that youth to open for his escape.

Diploma granted by the Senate to Petrarch.

The senatorial diploma, which was handed to the crowned poet, a valuable memento of the time, couched in the pompous rhetoric characteristic of the official language of the Roman republic, was entirely penetrated with the ancient Roman spirit, and was also memorable for some excellent remarks concerning the essence of the poet's art.[1] The

Would not Petrarch have preserved it as a treasure? That the Senator should take the wreath of honour from his own head is altogether unsuitable. As late as 1549 a description of the coronation was fabricated under the name *Senuccio Delbene*, and long passed for authentic: de Sade, ii., Notes, p. 5, and Hortis, p. 37.

[1] These, as also the whole train of thought contained in the diploma, were, for the rest, borrowed from Petrarch's discourse, which the official compiler of the diploma had before him. This is rendered certain by a comparison of the speech published by Hortis and the diploma.

Senators therein explained that God had implanted the seeds of heroic virtue and genius in the most glorious city of eternity; Rome had consequently given birth to innumerable warriors as well as artists, and had nurtured and trained others. In the Roman republic, historians, and more especially poets, had flourished, who had conferred immortality on themselves and on those whom they glorified. Without them the names of the founders of the city, of the empire, and all other celebrated men, would have fallen into eternal oblivion. The republic had awarded the same honour of the laurel to the Caesars as well as to the poets; had bestowed on the former for the toils of war, on the latter for the toils of study, the evergreen sprays of laurel, the tree which was spared by lightning, in the same way that the all effulgent glory of Caesars and poets was spared by age. At present the fame of the poets had so entirely vanished that many were of opinion that their doings consisted solely in lying inventions. But the office of the poet was serious and exalted, namely, to depict, in pleasing colour, and under the veil of verse, the truth which he was to make all the more attractive in his melodious song. Illustrious poets had formerly been crowned on the Capitol, but the custom had fallen into abeyance in Rome for more than thirteen hundred years. But now the gifted Francesco Petrarca, who had been versed in such studies from childhood, a poet and historian of Florence, had resolved to aid learning, and desired to receive the laurel in the sacred city for the encouragement of others, in remembrance of the

ancient poets, and in reverent love for Rome. On these grounds, and on the testimony of the illustrious King of Sicily and Jerusalem, they, the Senators, had pronounced Petrarch a great poet and historian, had bestowed the degree of Magister upon him, had placed the laurel on his head, and, empowered by the King and the Roman people, had given him authority to teach the arts of poetry and history in Rome—the head of the world—and everywhere else, to dispute, interpret his own writings and those of others, and to appear in public crowned with the laurel, the myrtle, or ivy, according to his pleasure, and clad in the vestments of a poet. They had, moreover, awarded him all the privileges of the professors of his art, and, in order to do the greater honour to his genius, had given him Roman citizenship. The Roman people, being questioned on the subject, had unanimously shouted their approval.[1]

The poet advanced in procession from the Capitol to S. Peter's, where he laid his wreath on the altar of the Prince of the Apostles.[2] Stephen Colonna

[1] *Magnum Poetam et Historicum declaramus, praeclaro Magisterii nomine insignimus, et in sign. specialiter poesis Nos Ursus, comes, et senator praef. pro nob. et Collega nostro coronam Lauream nostris manib. ejus capiti impressimus. In actu, atque habitu poetico. . . .* Poets when crowned wore, like Magistri, a special gown. Villani (ix. c. 136) tells us that Dante was buried *in abito di poeta e di grande filosofo.* The Diploma, *dat. in Capitolio praesentib. nobis, et tam alienigenar., quam Romanor. Procerum ac Populi multitudine numerosa, V. Id. April A.D. MCCCXLIII.* (read *VI. Id.*), was published by Vitale; it is also found in Petrarch, *Opp.*, ili. 6.

[2] *Atque hinc ad limina Petri*
Pergimus, et sacras mea Laurea pendet ad aras.
Ep. Poet., ii. 1.

gave a magnificent banquet in his honour in the palace beside SS. Apostoli.[1] And thus ended a festival which, although unimportant in itself, yet, owing to the city where it took place, the ideas which it embodied and to which it gave utterance, left behind an enduring impression.[2] The coronation of Petrarch in truth inaugurated a new century of culture. In the midst of the horrors of the war of factions, and of the melancholy abandonment of Rome, the day dedicated to a poet's honour shines with a mild and humane light. From the height of the classic Capitol, it proclaimed to a world sunk in hatred and superstition that the redeeming work of the intellect is its eternal need, its highest calling, and its greatest triumph.

Henceforward Petrarch dedicated his enthusiasm to Rome, whose citizen he had become. He soon, however, withdrew from the homage, or the satiric mockery, which the Romans bestowed on all that was exalted. Immediately after the day on which he had attained the ideal of his life, he encountered sordid realities at the very gates of Rome. Scarcely had the laurel-crowned poet left the walls of the city behind him, when he fell into the hands of armed robbers, who forced him hastily to return to Rome. The next

[1] *Messer Stephano in S. Apostolo dié a mangiare ad esso et a tutti i Laurcali Levatori. Ex Diario Gentilis Delphini* (Murat., iii. p. ii. 843).

[2] Petrarch himself dimly felt this when he wrote to King Robert: *Parva res fortasse, dixerit quispiam, sed profecto novitate conspicua et populi Ro. plausu et jucunditate percelebris. Fam.*, iv. 7, Pisa, May 30 (1341).

day he was given a stronger escort in order that he might pursue his way to Pisa in safety.[1]

2. BENEDICT XII. BUILDS THE PALACE AT AVIGNON — UNFORTUNATE CONDITION OF ITALY — THE POPE AND THE EMPIRE—LEWIS THE BAVARIAN'S VAIN ATTEMPTS AT RECONCILIATION — DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE OF THE EMPIRE—DEATH OF BENEDICT XII. — CLEMENT VI., POPE — THE ROMANS CONFER THE SIGNORY UPON HIM, AND INVITE HIM TO RETURN — DEATH OF ROBERT OF NAPLES — REVOLUTION IN ROME — FIRST APPEARANCE OF COLA DI RIENZO.

The decaying city at this time became more than ever convinced that she was the cradle of western culture, the source of the empire as well as of the Papacy, and that consequently she must exert herself to recover her cosmopolitan position. But the bold flight of ideas to which she rose did not stir the soul of Pope Benedict. Instead of returning to Rome, to the mortification of Petrarch and of all Italians, he built the papal fortress at Avignon on such a gigantic scale as were it destined to be

[1] *—vix moenia Urbis egressi, ego cum his qui me terra et pelago secuti erant, in latronum manus incidimus. Fam.*, iv. 8, to Barbatus of Sulmona, Pisa, May 30. The knight and poet, John Barrili, a member of the Neapolitan escort of honour to the coronation, had fallen into the hands of robbers at Anagni, and consequently had not been able to reach Rome. (*Ibid.*) Petrarch might have solaced himself with the thought of the emperors and their accustomed fate after their coronation.

the eternal abode of the Papacy. The Avignon Vatican, built on the rock of the cathedral, one of the strongest monuments of the Middle Ages, still stands with its lofty towers and battlements, gloomy and ponderous, but empty and lifeless as the tomb of a Pharaoh.[1] The indescribable confusion which prevailed in Italy did not invite the Pope to abandon his secure retreat on the banks of the Rhone. It is true that Bologna again made submission in 1340, and that several cities of Lombardy were reconciled to the Church. True that even John and Lucchino, sons of Matthew Visconti, declared that during the vacancy of the empire the government of Milan belonged to the Pope. The tyrants and the still independent republics were constantly at war, and ready for any innovation. Benedict XII. consequently acted in conformity with the circumstances of the time, if he maintained his authority at least, by appointing the Visconti, Scala, Gonzaga, Este, and Pepoli, as his vicars in the name of the Church. After the removal of the Papacy to Avignon, this was the only, although the dangerous, means by which the popes still maintained an influence over the affairs of Italy.

The Emperor Lewis seeks reconciliation with the Pope.

It was not Benedict's fault if he did not succeed in putting an end to the quarrel with the empire, after the Emperor had repeatedly sought for reconciliation. Lewis the Bavarian, humiliated and in-

[1] Concerning this palace, see Eugène Muntz, "L'Histoire des Arts dans la Ville d'Avignon pendant le XIVe. Siècle" (*Bullet. archéol. du comité des travaux hist.*, Paris, 1888).

secure on the throne, a prince possessed of the rash courage of sudden passion, but unendowed with the endurance which can only be imparted by a great and cultivated character, had sent his procurators to Avignon, and promised to withdraw all his suits against John XXII. He had acknowledged his coronation by the people as illegal, in order to beg for coronation at the hands of the Pope, and had promised to leave Rome the same day that he received it, and never to return to the State of the Church without permission from the Pope.[1] The negotiations had been shattered by the alliance which he had formed with Edward of England against the King of France and against the express will of the Pope; nevertheless, Lewis had sent fresh and utterly abject promises to Avignon. He had made a complete recantation, had humbly repented the elevation of the anti-pope, excusing his ignorance as a man of the sword, had acknowledged the teachings of the Church concerning the question of the poverty of Christ, and had finally repudiated as heretical all those articles of the monarchists respecting the boundaries of the papal power. He was ready to renounce the imperial title, to build churches and convents in expiation of his sins, and even to start on a crusade. He had therefore implored "pardon and pity," in order to acquire recognition as King of the Romans, and to obtain the imperial dignity from the Pope in legal

[1] Document containing the mandate to the procurators, Ulm, May 5, 1336, Raynald, n. 17; and the Pope's letter, addressed *Magnifico viro Lud. de Bavaria.*

form.[1] The submission of an Emperor behind whom stood the Hohenstaufens, Philip le Bel, Dante, the school of the monarchists and the progress of critical learning, was more humiliating than the penance of Henry IV. in the darkness of his age. It even gave the Avignonese Pope the right to despise such an enemy and such an empire. The Pope could indeed desire no more favourable conditions. The accurate judgment of Boniface XII. also recognised that Lewis had been driven to extremities by John XXII., and he himself sincerely desired peace. But the painful circumstances by which he was surrounded at Avignon made him regret his want of freedom. The King of France threatened to treat him worse than Philip had treated Boniface VIII.; he confiscated the property of the cardinals in order to compel them to oppose the peaceful intentions of the Pope; while Lewis himself could not be induced to relinquish the alliance with the King of England. The work of reconciliation desired by the Pope was thus shattered.[2]

Germany, however, now awoke to the consciousness of her rights and independence. The wearied

[1] Lewis's letter, *Noverit Sanctitas vestra*, Nuremberg, October 28, 1336. Raynald, n. 31.

[2] Benedict XII. said openly that the greatest obstacle to reconciliation was: *bellici apparatus, quos faciebat contra reg. Franciae;* Lewis ought to know *quod nos et ead. eccl. eund. Regem dimittere non possemus, nec etiam deberemus; maxime cum talis necessitas immineret, cum Reges Franciae nunquam dimiserint ecclesiam.* To the Archbishop of Cologne, Avignon, July 1, 1338. Raynald, n. 3. Nevertheless, Benedict wrote several times afterwards to Lewis, inviting him to a reconciliation.

princes of the empire finally brought the case of Lewis and the Pope before their own tribunal, and the consequence of the exaggerated claims of the Avignonese popes was the declaration of the independence of the Empire from the Papacy. The celebrated constitutions concerning the law of election of the Roman kings and emperors, promulgated at Rense near Mainz on July 15, and at Frankfort on August 8, 1338, gave ratification to the Ghibelline theory that the empire was dependent solely on God, not on the pope. They declared that the emperor or king legally chosen by the electors was to be regarded as lawful king and emperor in virtue of this election, and that his authority, recognised by the empire, did not require the ratification of the pope.[1] The teachings of the monarchists thus acquired constitutional validity. These principles, as old as the Carolingian right of empire, had been set aside by the popes since Gregory VII. They had, however, been asserted with decision by Henry VII. at the time of his quarrel with Clement V.[2]

The constitutions of Rense and Frankfort, 1338.

[1] *Declaramus—quod Imperialis dignitas et potestas est immediate a solo Deo: et quod de Jure Imperii et consuetudine antiquitus approbata, postq. aliquis eligitur in Imp. sive Regem ab Electoribus Imp. concorditer, vel majori parte eorund., statim ex sola electione est Rex verus et imp. Rom. censendus—nec Papae sive Sedis Ap. aut alicuius alterius approbatione—indiget.* Constitution *Licet juris*, Frankfort, August 8, 1338. Goldast, *Const. Imp.*, iii. 409; Leibnitz, *Cod. Jur. Gent.*, i. 148.

[2] Henry VII. declared: *quamvis Papa non teneatur inungere fatuum vel hereticum in Imp.—tamen non ideo sequitur quod sola electio Ro. Principis ei jus non tribuat imperandi; quemadmod. enim sola pape electio ei omnem tribuit potestatem—quia nemo est eo superior in spiritualib., ita quid. et Ro. principi sola electio ejus omnem tribuit*

All the electors, the King of Bohemia excepted, announced their decision to the Pope in a letter, in which they bitterly lamented the continuance of the division between the Church and the empire, and explained that this unhappy quarrel could only be ended when both powers observed the limits of their rights, and each surrendered what it had usurped from the other. They accordingly announced to the Pope that they had drawn these precise limits by this imperial decision.[1]

In the long controversy of the Church with the empire the Church alone had remained firm, the Empire in moments of weakness had surrendered its rights of majesty. By the elevation of the Habsburg dynasty the princes of the empire had even acknowledged that the imperium was dependent on the pope alone, and even Lewis the Bavarian had recognised the fact. In the arrogance of their victory the popes had even pushed their claims so far that they actually united the two powers, and proclaimed themselves the sole heads of the empire. The necessary rebound followed; the decrees of the year 1338 finally pronounced the independence

Severance of the empire from the Papacy.

potestatem quia non eo superior in temporalibus. Dönniges, *Acta H.*, ii. 61.

[1] *Ep. Electorum ad P. Bened. XII. super Ludovico Imp.*, Rebdorff in Freher, i. 427. Thus was fulfilled the sentence in the *Monarchia* of Dante, the Ghibelline who had so violently protested against the blending of the two powers:

Di' oggimai che la chiesa di Roma,
Per confondere in se duo reggimenti,
Cade nel fango, e sè brutta e la soma.
—*Purg.*, xvi. v. 127.

of the empire from the Papacy; in conformity with this principle they already severed Germany from Rome and Italy, and thus created a fresh ground for the Reformation, which was to announce the independence of the German intellect from the Roman Church. The reader of this history will hail the constitutions of Rense, ineffective though they were at first, as a deed honourable to Germany; and if he surveys the length of time and the sacrifices which this world-stirring quarrel between the two powers cost from the time of Henry IV. to Lewis IV., he will wonder that the declaration of independence appeared so late, and at a time when the empire no less than the Church had long lost its ancient might. The two powers were twin sisters; one pre-supposed the existence of the other. They became great by one and the same theocratic conception, and through it lost their strength. We may assert that the defeat of one necessarily entailed the enfeeblement of the other. The political power of the Church decayed when the historic importance of the empire waned by the progress of the age. The Church in vain protested against the independence of the empire. To the writings of Occam and Marsilius the Spanish Minorite Alvarus Pelagius opposed his *Lament of the Church*, in which all the divine rights of the Papacy were embodied in the antiquated theory that the pope, as the representative of Christ and God, was sole ruler of the earth.[1]

[1] *De Planctu Ecclesiae Alvari Pelagii Hispani ex ord. Minorit. Theologi libri duo*, Venetiis, 1561. He was Penitentiary of John XXII., and wrote his work in consequence of the controversy with the

Death of Benedict XII., April 25, 1342.

Benedict XII. died, unreconciled to the empire, at Avignon, on April 25, 1342. His enemies, the favourites of John XXII., the Minorites and patriots of Italy, overwhelmed him with abuse, but could not reverse the sentence of history, which has awarded a fitting recognition to this simple, rough, and upright man.[1]

Clement VI., Pope, 1342-1352.

Cardinal Peter of S. Nereus and Achilleus was elected as his successor on May 7, 1342, and was crowned as Clement VI. on May 19. He was a native of Limousin from Malmont, was born in 1291, the son of a wealthy nobleman, Guillaume, lord of Rosières, a member of the house of Roger.[2] He had entered the Benedictine order as a boy; had later become professor of theology in Paris, then Bishop of Arras, Chancellor of King Philip, successively Bishop of Sens and Rouen, and was made cardinal by Benedict XII. in 1338. He was a learned theologian, but at the same time a man of liberal inclinations, and far removed from the monastic tastes of his predecessor.

The change on the papal chair was accompanied

Minorites. It is a compendium of all the hierarchical principles of the Avignonese Papacy.

[1] Almost all biographers call him *justus et durus, constans.* His enemies made him the subject of the following pasquinade:—

Ille fuit Nero, laicis mors, vipera clero,
Devius a vero, cuppa repleta nero.

Petrarch also hated him, partly on account of his rough character, partly out of patriotism: *Vino madidus, aevo gravis, ac soporifero rore perfusus, jam nutitat. . . . Ep. sine titulo,* i.

[2] See the genealogical tree in M. Souchon: The papal elections from Boniface VIII. until Urban VIII., 1888, appendix.

by a change in the government of Rome, of which the popes were only personally titular signors. The Roman people immediately resolved to confer the senatorial power on Clement VI. in the illusive hope of bringing him to Rome.[1] This hope revived and disappeared with every new pontiff who ascended the throne in hated Avignon. The Romans hastened to inform each in succession that he might take peaceful possession of the city, where nothing was heard but laments for the absence of her father and shepherd, and longing expectations of his return. A solemn embassy of eighteen Romans, taken from the three orders of the people, the great nobility, the prominent burghers, and the lower class, headed by Stephen Colonna, Francesco of Vico, and the syndic of the city, Lellus de Cosecchis, went to Avignon.[2] They brought as gift to the noble Lord Pierre Roger the civic authority for life, and implored him to return to Rome as Pope. They finally prayed him, for the sake of the impoverished city, to fix the celebration of the jubilee every fifty years. He immediately acceded to the request; but neither the convincing

The Romans invite the Pope to return.

[1] In the latter half of 1341 the Senators were Francesco Savelli and Paul. Nicolai Anibaldi; they ratify the Statute of the Merchants on September 14, 1341. Whether or not they were still in office at the time of the death of Benedict XII. is uncertain.

[2] *Vita III. Clem. VI.* in Baluzius, p. 286. *Stephan. de Columna* is here called *Senator urbis*. But because the Pope soon afterwards appointed him to this office, I do not venture to assert that he was Senator already. According to the second account of the embassy in *Hist. Rom. Fragm.*, p. 343, it consisted of six laymen and six priests. *Capo loro fo Stefano de la Colonna, e lo Commendatore de S. Spirito* (perhaps Francesco de Vico, who elsewhere bears the epithet *venerabilis*). Stephen Colonna is not here designated Senator.

arguments of the envoys, nor the verses of Petrarch, the Roman citizen, persuaded Clement that a return to Rome would be for the advantage of himself or the Church.[1] He appointed the younger Stephen Colonna and Berthold Orsini as his representatives in the Senate.[2]

Death of King Robert, Jan. 19, 1343.

The following year the death of King Robert of Naples was productive of great changes. This magnificent but at the same time feeble and ignoble prince, so long the head of the Guelfs, the ruler of Rome, and the Advocate of the Church, died on January 19, 1343, without male heirs, leaving the crown to his grand-daughter Joanna, who was married to the young Andrew of Hungary. Robert had proved incapable of uniting the kingdom of Naples, which had been torn asunder by the feudal nobility. His death consequently soon enough produced a state of frightful anarchy. It was also felt in Rome, where, in virtue of their fiefs, Orsini, Colonna, and Gaetani were vassals of the crown of Naples, whose proximity, its relation to the Church, and several other causes, combined to produce a permanent alliance between the kingdom and Rome.

Shortly before Robert's death, violent disturbances, which led to a revolt, had broken out in the city. The Senate was overthrown, the rule of the Thirteen

[1] Clement VI. rewarded Petrarch's verses (*Carm.*, Ep. ii. 91) with the Priory of S. Niccolò de Miliarino near Pisa. De Sade, ii. 47.

[2] Statute of the Merchants, July 10, 1342. According to a document in Papencordt, *Cola di Rienzo*, p. 68, they were still Senators on November 26, 1342. Stephen's representative was his son John.

was reinstated under papal supremacy.[1] The regents of the people hastened to justify the change to the Pope, to ratify him in the signory of the city, and to lay before him the same requests as they had previously urged. In January 1343 the young notary Cola di Rienzo went with letters from the Thirteen to Avignon as envoy of the people. The honourable commission of appearing as orator before the Pope shows that Cola, who had lately attracted the attention of the entire city by his antiquarian knowledge and gift of oratory, had already rendered services to the people in the revolution that had just taken place. The young man had long been the bitter enemy of the aristocrats, by whom his brother had been murdered; he had long meditated emancipating the city from their rule; he now hoped, by means of his representations, to gain the Pope to his side, and likewise to acquire fame. The charge of the embassy to Avignon was the first political event in his life, and inaugurated the career of this remarkable man.[2]

First appearance of Cola di Rienzo, Jan. 1343.

Cola discharged his mission with ability in public consistory, and in presence of the Pope and cardinals. The frankness with which he depicted the sufferings of Rome in consequence of the insolence of the nobility, and his rhetorical talent, won the approval of the Pope, who was himself reputed an excellent

He comes to Avignon as Roman envoy.

[1] As early as January. The ratification of the Statute of Merchants is dated April 1: *Nos XIII. boni viri ad urbis Regimen per Rom. Pop. deputati ad beneplacitum D. N. Pape—*

[2] *Per suo procaccio* (by his management) *gio in Avignone per ambasciatore a Papa Clemente da parte de li tredici uomini di Roma. Vita di Cola di Rienzo*, ed. Zefirino Rè, lib. i. c. 1.

speaker. Clement VI. accepted the authority again offered him by the people, without paltry considerations regarding its origin; he promised, were the war between France and England at an end, to visit the city, and as early as January 27, 1343, issued the bull fixing the jubilee every fifty years.[1] In a magniloquent letter, Cola informed the Romans of the successful result of his mission, admonished them to prove themselves worthy of the favour shown them by laying down their arms, exalted the Pope as the deliverer of the city above Scipio, Caesar, and Metellus, and exhorted the Romans to erect a statue to Clement VI. in the amphitheatre or on the Capitol. The letter was premeditated, and copies were assuredly circulated at Avignon. Cola di Rienzo therein already called himself Roman consul, and, moreover, the sole popular ambassador of orphans, widows, and the poor to the Roman Pope. This title, and the exaggerated style of writing, show the man such as he afterwards appeared in Rome when he trod the stage of history.[2] He remained

[1] *Unigenitus Dei filius. Bullar. Vatican*, i. 322.

[2] The style is intentionally imitated from the Roman Curia. The opening reminds us of the bull in which Clement V. announced Henry's expedition: *Exultet in gloria virtutis altissimi regni culmen, exultent magnifice sibi subditae nationes—quoniam Ecce rex. . . .* Cola began: *Exultent in circuito vestro montes: induantur colles gaudio et universe planities, atque vestra Ro. civitas, et valles pacem germinent — — — Ecce namque coeli aperti sunt. . . . Nicol. Laurencii, Roman. Consul, orphanor., viduar., et pauperum unicus popularis legatus ad D. N. Rom. Pont. animo, manuq. propriis.* Undated, but written at the end of January, immediately after the promulgation of the Bull of Jubilee. From the Turin Cod. in Hobhouse, *Hist. Illustr. of the Fourth Canto of Childe Harold*, London, 1818,

some time at the papal court, where he had occasional opportunities of seeing Petrarch, and exchanging his ideas on the restoration of the city with the equally fantastic views of the poet. Clement VI. himself evinced such lively interest in Cola's discourse that he frequently sought his society. The envoy of the people brought forward just complaints of the crimes of the Roman nobility, painted the utter misery of the illustrious city in the most vivid colours, and implored the Pope to become its saviour.[1] His outspokenness incurred the displeasure of Cardinal John Colonna; the powerful prelate defended his relatives, and prejudiced the Pope against Cola, who was consequently no longer received at court, and dwelt in the greatest poverty at Avignon. Petrarch apparently obtained the cardinal's pardon for his friend, and a renewal of the papal favour; the Pope even received Cola among his courtiers on familiar terms; —a great distinction for a plebeian, and a proof of the favourable impression which his talents and learning had made on the accomplished Clement.

Meanwhile Cola's courageous attitude in Avignon had become known in Rome, and had drawn upon

p. 510. On May 12, 1343, the XIII. notified the issue of the bull to Modena and Bologna. *Chron. Mutin.*, p. 401; Ghirardacci, *Istorie di Bologna*, ii. 193.

[1] *Vita* of Cola, i. c. 1. The Pope wrote on August 9, 1343: *Dudum dil. fil. N. Laurentii de Urbe, familiaris noster, ad sed. ap. per— Consules Artium et alios populares urbis ejusd., sicut asseruit, destinatus, coram nob. et fratrib. nris in consistorio super reformatione Status Urbis ejusd. et liberatione populi a potentum oppressionibus, prudenter et eleganter proposuit* (Theiner, ii. n. 130). We see how faithful to truth is the *Vita*, which says: *la sua diceria fu si avanzerana e bella, che subito ebbe inamorato Papa Clemente.*

him the hatred of the nobility there. The new Senators, Matthew Orsini and Paul Conti, immediately brought suits against him; but the Pope, who wished him well, put a stop to these proceedings.[1] Clement VI. showed himself more complaisant to the Roman democracy than to the patrician houses. We are acquainted with the grounds that induced the Avignonese popes to adopt this policy; they all strove to satisfy the Roman people, in the hope of pacifying the reproaches brought against them, on account of their absence from the seat of the Apostles. In Cola, Clement recognised a man that might be useful to him. The poor plebeian begged for the post of notary in the civic camera, which carried with it the salary of five gold florins a month, and the Pope gave it, with the most flattering recognition of his virtues and learning, on April 13, 1344. With this official appointment began Cola's public career in Rome, whither he returned after Easter of the same year.[2]

He becomes notary of the civic camera, April 1344.

[1] Letter of the Pope to the Senators, August 3, 1343: he wrote that Cola told him that his enemies had insinuated to the Senators that Cola had injured them in his (the Pope's) eyes: that they ought to suspend the suit *contra dictum N. et bona ipsius;* he had only spoken for the good of the city. The XIII., who were still in office on May 12, were dismissed by the Pope. Math. Orsini and Paul Conti ratified the Statute of the Merchants on July 14, 1343. They remained in office until July 1344. On April 13, 1344, the Pope appointed Jordan Orsini and John Colonna *ab eisd. Kal. Julii usque ad* 6 *m.* (Theiner, ii. n. 138). They sign the Statute on December 22, 1344.

[2] Cola's request, hitherto unknown. *Supplicat Sanctitati V. devot. vester familiar. et serv. Nic. Laurentii ex consulib. urbis ac plebis vestre Ro. zelator et exosus nonnullis Romanis nobilib. propter defension.*

3. COLA'S ORIGIN AND CAREER—HE BECOMES NOTARY OF THE CIVIC CAMERA AND HEAD OF A CONSPIRACY—HE EXCITES THE PEOPLE BY ALLEGORICAL PICTURES—HIS INGENIOUS INTERPRETATION OF THE LEX REGIA—IMPORTANT EVENTS IN NAPLES AND FLORENCE PRODUCE AN INFLUENCE IN ROME—GENERAL EFFORT OF THE GUILDS TO OBTAIN POWER IN THE CITIES TO THE EXCLUSION OF THE NOBILITY—CONDITION OF THE POPULACE IN ROME—THE REVOLUTION OF MAY 20, 1347—COLA DI RIENZO DICTATOR AND TRIBUNE.

Antecedents and youth of Cola di Rienzo.

The son of Lorenzo or Rienzo had not yet invented the myth that he was a bastard of the Emperor Henry VII., but was known as the legiti-

reip., quam in Rom. curia et Romanis consiliis singularit. fecit et sub protect. Sanctit. prefate facere ampliori corde disposuit, quatin. special. sibi gram—facientes per quam sub tit. alicuius officii sibi per v. clementiam conferendi vivere posset in dicta Urbe a persone ac bonor. suor. jactura securior unacum officialib. vestris vid. camerariis per Sanct. pref. in ipsius Urbis camera deputatis, dignemini prefate plebis intuitu eid. Nicolao notario publ. providere de officio notariatus dicte Camere ad beneplac. Sanct. pref. et donec ipsum duxerit sicut dictos Camerarios revocandum cum salario consueto V. florenor. auri mense quolib. et cum emolumentis et honorib. consuetis et executionib. et non obstantib. et clausulis oportunis. Fiat. R. Dat. Aven. Id. Aprilis anno secundo.—Clem. VI. Reg. Supplicat., a. ii. p. 2, fol. 291. Copied for me by P. A. Munch, the celebrated Norwegian historian, who died in Rome. The appointment of Cola as notary of the civic camera, with a salary of five gold florins per month (not, as de Sade, Gibbon, and Papencordt hold, per day): *Dat. Avin. Id. April. A. II.: Nicolao Laur. de Urbe, Notario Camere dicte Urbis, domicello et famil. nostro. . . . Meruit tue devotionis industria, ut te, cui ad actiones publicas exercendas vita, mores et sciencia laudabiliter—suffragantur. . . .* Fresh ratification, *Aven. XV. Kal. Julii A. III.* (Theiner, *Cod. Dipl.*, ii. n. 139, 140).

mate child of a tavern keeper in the region Regola, where his mother Maddalena helped to earn a scanty livelihood by washing and carrying water.[1] He was born about 1314.[2] The poverty of his parents afforded him no means for the cultivation of his distinguished abilities. From the death of his mother until his twentieth year he lived with a relative at Anagni—"a peasant among peasants," as he himself lamented.[3] About 1333 or 1334 he returned to the city, on the death of his father, and had here opportunity of educating himself by study. The young Roman owed more to self-instruction and to the writings of the ancients than to the professors of his native city, to whose decayed university he may nevertheless have resorted. His

[1] *Suo abitaggio fu canto di fiume fra le molinara nelle via che va a la Reola, direto di S. Tommaso sotto la tempio de li guidei. Vita*, i. c. 1. *Reola* is a corruption of *Arenula*. The sandy shore still remains unchanged, and Cola's house probably stood facing the river, at the corner of the Regola, where ancient fulling mills stand even now. The church is *S. Tommaso dei Cenci*, which was restored by the infamous Francesco Cenci in 1575. The synagogue in the neighbourhood still survives. Cola himself says in a letter to Charles IV.: *ripa fluminis, in qua domus mea permanet situata—que taberna erat publica.*

[2] I take this date from Cola's own assertions in 1347, that he had accomplished his works at the same age as Christ, namely, at 33.

[3] *Ubi* (*Anagnie*) *usque ad etatis mei ann. XX. tanquam rusticus inter rusticos sum moratus.* (Letter to Charles IV.) Cola was born about 1313 or 1314. See the *Summario Chronologico* in Zefirino Rè, and his *Osservazioni Storiche*, p. 175. Papencordt and Rè have worked out Cola's history with great accuracy. The latest work on the subject is: Emm. Rodocanachi, *Cola di Rienzo*, Paris, 1888. Papencordt first collected the letters of the Tribune; they were then edited by Annibale Gabrielli, *Epistolario di Cola di Rienzo*, Rome, 1890 (*Fonti per la storia d'Italia*).

letters show that he was intimately acquainted with the Bible and the Fathers of the Church, even with Canon law. He was versed in Livy, Seneca and Cicero, Valerius Maximus and the ancient poets; they formed his Latin style, endowed him with eloquence, nourished his intellect with magnificent imagery, and filled him with longings after the ideals of antiquity. He was often heard to exclaim, "Where are those good old Romans? Where is their lofty rectitude? Would that I could transport myself back to the times when these men flourished." The ignorant inhabitants of the region stared at the youth, who was of handsome aspect, and around whose mouth a whimsical smile was wont to play as he explained ancient statues and reliefs, or read the inscriptions on the marble slabs scattered through the city.[1] It was these ostentatious inscriptions—ghostly voices, which, in the midst of ruins, spoke of a great world that had completely passed away—that stirred his poetic imagination and incited the man to believe himself in the place of these heroes and consuls, and to adorn himself with attributes and titles, which, in the silence of his dreams, he may long before have appropriated. It was, moreover, the histories of antiquity, in the study of which he steeped himself, that in him, as in Petrarch, removed the barriers between past and present, and fired him with such enthusiasm "that he resolved

[1] *Tutta la die si speculava ne l'intagli di marmo, li quali giacciono intorno a Roma; non era altri che desso, che sapesse leggere li antichi pitaffi—Era bell' omo, ed in sua bocca sempre riso appariva in qualche modo fantastico.* The author of the *Vita* had an accurate knowledge of the character of his hero.

to translate into practice that which he had learnt in reading."[1] And from the depths of his dreamy nature, on the soil of antiquity, in the tragic silence of Rome, and in the midst of the misery of an enslaved population, arose a marvellous genius—one of the most remarkable products of the Middle Ages.

It is evident that, as he was a public notary before his embassy to Avignon, Cola had entered on the only career which, apart from the clerical profession, offered an honourable position to a poor plebeian. When he now reappeared in Rome after the Easter of 1344, a favourite of the Pope, with the glory of having successfully executed his mission, and distinguished by the hatred of the nobles, against whom, however, he was protected by the Pope and his office, he was already respected by the people. His public position gave him opportunity of becoming acquainted with the frauds of the judges and the crimes of the barons, and of acquiring influence among the citizens. He wrote with a silver pen, as he said, out of respect for his high office; and the insignificant fact is characteristic of his nature.[2] Intoxicated with reflections on the

Cola di Rienzo as notary.

[1] *Lectioni rerum Imperialium — dedi curam, quibus — imbutus, nihil actum fore putavi si, que legendo didiceram, non aggrederer exercendo.* This is Don Quixote with the romances of chivalry. Letter to Charles IV., p. xxxiii., in Papencordt.

[2] With this *penna di ariento*, Cola signed the ratification of the Statute of the Merchants. The handwriting is elegant. *Scriptum per me Nicolaum Laur. not. Cam. urb. per Dnum. papam de mandato praefati Dni sen. et assectamenti.* Given on March 28, 1346, under the senatorship of *Ursus Jacobi Napoleonis* and *Nicol.*

grandeur of antiquity, and inspired with the mission of becoming the deliverer of the city, he began to take counsel with men who cherished the like ideas, to collect friends around him, and to organise a revolution. This revolution was the result of long planning and secret conspiracy.

The confusion in the republic had at this time become so great that the dignity of senator appeared nothing but a burthen. Matthew Orsini and Paul Conti in 1344, and their successors, Jordan Orsini and John Colonna, had implored the Pope to remove them from office.[1] After July 1, 1345, Raynald Orsini and Nicholas Anibaldi, lord of the fortress of S. Pietro in Formis, near Nettuno, were Senators; but owing to the nobles having refused entrance into the city to Haymerich of S. Martin, the cardinal-legate, these two men also found themselves placed in such difficulties that they declined any longer to administer their office. The Pope exhorted them to fulfil their duties, and also wrote to the principal

Raynald Orsini and Nicholas Anibaldi, Senators, 1345.

de Comite, who was absent. On August 23, 1346, the same Statute is signed by *Egidius Angeleri notar. et dictator Cam. urbis*, whence it does not follow that Cola was no longer in office, since there were several notaries of the kind; the *Not. appellationum*, or the *Protonotarius*, also frequently sign. *E. Angelerii* (sometimes written *Angeloni*) had been Cola's predecessor for many years. He first signs as *Not. Cam. urbis* in 1332, then in 1337, and from 1340 every year until 1349, then for the last time in 1354. So faithful an official of the Capitol deserves honourable remembrance in this history.

[1] Theiner, ii. n. 138. The senatorship of Jordan and John ended on January 1, 1345. They were succeeded until July 1, 1345, by Berthold Orsini and Count Ursus Anguillara (Brief, Nov. 26, 1344, Theiner, ii. n. 143).

nobles.[1] City and Campagna were in the power of the aristocracy. In spite of the prohibition to barons against becoming the podestàs of cities, the nobles had usurped the government of several communes. The Prefect John of Vico, the Savelli, and the Normanni seized Toscanella, Bagnorea, and Vetralla. The Gaetani occupied Terracina; the Orsini and Colonna did not lag behind. The Pope would have hailed with joy anyone who could bridle these rapacious nobles.

Cola's animadversions before the Capitoline judges only brought him ill-treatment and contempt, but his ingenious allegories filled the citizens with enthusiasm.[2] When demagogues now wish to influence the crowd, they circulate their manifestos through the press; in the fourteenth century they stirred the imagination of the people by means of allegorical pictures. One day the Romans beheld an impressive picture on the wall of the Palace of the Senate: a shipwreck on a stormy sea; a widow in tears kneeling in prayer; around the wreck four vessels which had foundered in the water, four drowned women, Babylon, Carthage, Troy, Jerusalem, which, as an inscription announced, had perished

Cola influences the people by means of allegories.

[1] Brief of August 17, 1345, to Raynald Orsini, in which he exhorts him and Niccolò de Anibaldis faithfully to administer their office. The same brief contains letters to other nobles.

[2] *Vita*, i. c. 2. *Andreozzo di Normanno* (*allora camerlengo*) once gave him a box on the ear; and the *Scriba Senatus Tommaso Fortifiocca* turned him into ridicule. Andreas was Camerarius of the city. On August 15, 1346, the Pope appointed Lellus Tartari to hold office with him for three years. Theiner, ii. n. 163. I mention this merely to confirm the accuracy of the *Vita*.

for their unrighteousness. On the left two islands; on one a matron, Italy, seated in shame, with the words, "Thou didst take power from every country, me alone thou didst regard as sister"; on the other, the four cardinal virtues as mourning women, with the motto, "Thou wast clothed with every virtue, now findest thou thy shipwreck in the sea." On the right, on a third island, a woman's figure, clad in white, kneeling, representing Faith, with hands uplifted to Heaven. "O great father, my duke and my sovereign, where shall I stand if Rome perish?" Above the chief painting winged beasts were depicted, which appeared to blow like winds out of shells; lions, wolves, bears, these were the barons, as an inscription explained; other animals, the evil counsellors and false judges; others, the vicious plebeians. Lastly, over the whole, were Peter and Paul, the terrible judges of the world, two swords in their mouths. The people, looking on this apocalyptic allegory, were lost in deep astonishment.[1] In the fourteenth century the institution of police was entirely unknown, or only very imperfectly organised. Manifestos of this kind were published with perfect freedom; preachers of repentance and demagogues could address the people unhindered, as preachers or orators in free England to-day.

[1] A panel of wood which Cola had had painted in secret. In the Middle Ages pictures were made use of for political purposes. Banners on which Conradin's head was depicted were carried in Henry VII.'s army; a black flag with the portrait of the strangled Andrew in the army of Lewis of Hungary.

One of the most celebrated inscriptions of ancient Rome had not escaped the glance of the young antiquary: the Lex Regia, the fragment of the decree of the Senate which conferred the imperium on the Emperor Vespasian. Cola had discovered this bronze tablet in the Lateran, where it had been employed in the construction of an altar in the time of Boniface VIII. The inscription had then been turned inwards,[1] but it was restored to light either by the fall of the church in consequence of the fire, or in process of rebuilding. The use to which Cola turned this monument of imperial despotism was singular and ingenious. He caused the tablet to be built into the wall behind the choir of the Lateran, and round it had the Senate painted in the act of conferring the imperial authority on Vespasian. He then invited nobles and people to a public conference in the basilica. Even great barons, such as the younger Stephen Colonna, his son John, and several jurisconsults, attended, filled with curiosity. Cola mounted a beautifully covered tribune, wearing a white garment in the form of a toga, a white hat with curious symbols of gold crowns and swords.[2]

He explains the Lex Regia.

[1] *Tabula Magna erea sculptis literis antiquis insignita, quam Bonif. P. VIII. in odium Imperii occultavit et de ea quodd. altare construxit a tergo literis occultatis, ego autem ante Tribunatus assumption. posui illam in medio Lateran. Ecce. ornatam in loco vid. eminenti, ut posset ab omnib. inspici ac legi, et sic ornata adhuc permanet et intacta* (Doc. in Papencordt, lvi.). The place of exhibition is given in the *Vita*, i. c. 3. It remained there until Gregory XIII. had it affixed to the wall of the Sala del Fauno.

[2] *Con una guarnaccia e cappa alemanna e capuccio a le gote di fino panno bianco;* such as Dante or Giotto is represented as wearing.

"Illustrious Rome," said this singular orator, "lies in the dust: she cannot even see her fall, since both her eyes—the emperor and pope—have been torn from her. Romans, behold how great was the splendour of the Senate, which invested the imperium with authority in former days"; and a scribe read the tenor of the Lex Regia to the astonished and ignorant listeners.[1] Cola further spoke of the vanished majesty of the Roman people, and of their present misery. In view of the approaching jubilee, when the city would not suffer from dearth of the necessaries of life, he exhorted peace, and at the close of his discourse he defended himself from his detractors, who misinterpreted his words and actions. This memorable scene in the Lateran, with its curious mixture of error and truth, was one of the most remarkable moments in Cola's life. There was no one among his audience, not even among the rude barons, who did not testify his approval; no one who did not believe in the survival of the sovereign rights of the Roman people, for such belief was a national superstition. Petrarch would have embraced the talented author with rapture.

Cola di Rienzo was the talk of the entire city. But the barons only saw a harmless enthusiast in the singular notary. John Colonna satisfied himself with inviting Rienzi to table, and making him discourse. The illustrious nobles burst into laughter,

[1] *In prima, che Vespasiano potesse fare a suo beneplacito leggi e confederazzioni,—ed accrescere lo giardino di Roma cioè l'Italia.* (*Vita.*) Gibbon has already observed that the word *pomerium* in the inscription was wrongly turned into *pomarium* by Cola. Dante, *Purg.*, vi. 105, says: *Chè il giardin dell' Imperio sia deserto.*

when pointing to the guests he said, "When I am sovereign or emperor, I shall hang these barons and have those beheaded." He wandered about Rome like a lunatic; we might say like Brutus, had Brutus been a man of this stamp. No one foresaw that this lunatic would soon possess the terrible power of striking the heads of the Roman nobles from their shoulders.

A second allegory appeared on the wall of S. Angelo in Pescheria in the Portico of Octavia: plebeians, kings, and a matron burning in the fire; an angel issuing from a church with a naked sword, and on the tower SS. Peter and Paul, crying, "Angel, angel, save our sheltering mother."[1] A dove from heaven offered a sparrow a wreath of myrtle, while some falcons flying before it fell into the flames; and on the head of the matron the little bird placed the crown of myrtle, with the inscription, "I see the time of great righteousness, and do thou await the time." Many bystanders were of opinion that more than painting was necessary to improve the condition of Rome; others believed that these pictures were great matters and symbols. One day a notice was found on the doors of S. Giorgio in Velabro, on which was written, "In a short time the Romans will return to their good ancient government."[2]

While Rome was occupied with these exciting proclamations, Cola headed a conspiracy, in which

[1] *Agnolo, agnolo, soccori all' albergatrice nostra!*

[2] *Ne la porta di santo Giorgio de la chiavica (cloaca massima).* From the festival celebrated at this church, Papencordt concludes that this was on February 15 (1347).

burghers of the second estate, as well as prosperous merchants, eagerly took part. The conspirators met secretly on the Aventine, the already deserted hill, where in ancient times the flying demagogue Caius Gracchus had found his last resting-place.[1] Cola's biographer has graphically described the impression which one of the notary's speeches had made on the conspirators, moving even to tears men who were filled with enthusiastic patriotism, but who were also penetrated with noble sorrow for the corruption of Rome. A practical plan was conceived for the overthrow of the barons, was sworn to, and drawn up in a document. The fact that Cola had appealed to the favour of the Pope, and could truthfully assert that Clement VI. was himself indignant at the crimes of the nobles, redounded greatly to the advantage of his schemes. The revolution of 1343, and its speedy recognition by the Pope, allowed the conspirators to hope for an equally rapid result.

Cola as head of the conspirators.

Important events throughout the rest of Italy made a deep impression on public opinion in Rome, and prepared the way for coming events. On September 18, 1345, Andrew, the youthful husband of Queen Joanna, had been murdered in Aversa, and his brother Lewis of Hungary organised an expedition to Naples to avenge his death. The fall of the Angevin monarchy was fruitful of consequences. The kingdom had hitherto been the basis of the temporal position of the Papacy in Italy, and the support of the entire Guelf party; the national principle

[1] *Adunò questa genta buona e matura nel monte di Aventino in uno loco secreto. Vita*, i. c. 4.

had rested on its power, as had been plainly evident in the time of Henry VII. and Lewis the Bavarian. It now fell into anarchy; the Papacy and the Guelf party lost their support in Italy; a power was extinguished which had served as a factor in the cause of unity and order as far as Rome and the Romagna, and the gates of the country were thus left open to attacks from outside. While Italy trembled at the thought of an invasion of the Hungarians, the German Werner had already formed his Great Company, which sacked and ravaged Tuscany and Lombardy. A time of terrible misery was at hand, and the unfortunate nation sighed for a saviour as in the days of Dante and Henry VII.[1] A solitary and brilliant example of the love of freedom raised the hearts of patriots. This was the revolt of the Florentines, who banished the Duke of Athens in 1343, soon after installed a democratic government, removed the nobility from all civic affairs, and conferred the authority on the guilds. The old patrician communal constitution in the cities fell to pieces about this time. The nobles were excluded from the communes, and, even in the smaller republics, the guilds with their priors obtained sole power. Of this, Todi offers a memorable example. The

Increased prominence of the guilds in the cities.

[1] Prompted by the sufferings inflicted by the Great Company, in 1344 Petrarch wrote the beautiful ode:

Italia mia, benche 'l parlar sia indarno

.

Che fan qui tante pellegrine spade?

a poem filled with patriotic despair, which even up to September 20, 1870, no Italian could have read without being deeply stirred.

Umbrian city reformed its statutes on December 6, 1337, and gave utterance to the following principles: "Since (owing to the work of the enemy of the human race, who sowed dissension among the citizens) the commune of Todi has in past times been continually troubled by civil war and by many expenses, and since we recognise that every city, every country, every place which is ruled by the people and men of the people and artisans, enjoys peace and rest, therefore we, invoking the name of Jesus Christ, of the glorious Virgin Mary and of S. Fortunatus, resolve by this just law, which shall endure for all time, that the city of Todi and its territory in general and in particular shall be ruled by popular institutions and by the people, by the popolani and the artisans, and that the people, the popolani, and the artisans of this city shall possess all government, every kind of jurisdiction, of custody and authority, the entire criminal and civil imperium, and the power of the sword."[1]

The collapse of feudalism produced discontent and a desire for novelty among the Italians. Men sought after new forms of government, established and changed them in a moment. The republican con-

[1] *Quod civitas per pop. gubernetur. Rubr.* xiv. of the Statute of Todi, A. 1337, in the Archives of S. Fortunatus. The Constitution of Todi was as follows: a Podestà and Captain; X. men as *priores pop.*, *conservatores et defensores boni et pacifici status civitatis*, elected in November from the consuls of the twenty guilds, who held office for two months, of whom five were Guelfs, five Ghibellines. The *consilium gen.*, a great committee elected by the people. The *consil. populi* of the 500 *boni viri*. The *consil. secretum* (*Credenza*) of 24 *sapientes*. Two *Banderarii* or *confalonerii* for each region, as captains of the militia and the quarters.

stitution, with its feverish activity, was a constant experiment with a view to an artificial equilibrium. In Rome also the artisans were striving, though less successfully, for power. Since the beginning of the fourteenth century they had formed thirteen guilds, recognised by the State, under consuls, who assembled in council on the occasion of every important resolution of the republic. Several letters of the popes in Avignon are courteously addressed to the Consuls of the Merchants, to the Agriculturists, and to the remaining guilds (*artes*). It is possible that even at this time they may have had meeting-places on the Capitol.[1] In every revolution these guilds formed the elements of a popular government, although the time of the rule of the "popolani" in Rome had not yet arrived. The hereditary nobility still maintained their exclusive right of eligibility for the Senate, and the inorganic juxtaposition of two political bodies side by side was consequently seen in Rome—the government of the people with the "Good Men" on the basis of the guilds, and that of the nobility with two senators at the head of the State. Had this nobility been an actual civic power, especially had it been a monied power, it would have thrust the plebeians out of the republic, as in Venice. Its strength, however, was crippled by the circumstance that its territorial possessions were partly situated in remote districts, by its family feuds, and finally by the authority of the Pope, in whom the populace

The guilds and the nobility in Rome.

[1] We still see such places with the inscriptions of the guilds, of *saec.* xvi., above the steps leading to the Capitol, and between the Palace of the Senate and that of the Conservatori.

found protection. The citizens stood in increasingly solid organisations opposed to the aristocracy. In addition to the corporations, their ancient constitution by regions under captains gave them a permanent bond; while in their very midst the class of the *cavalerotti*—that is to say, the wealthy citizens of the ancient houses of the popolani, who served on horseback in the civic militia—founded a new aristocracy.[1] The time was near when in Rome, as in Florence and other cities, the victory of the popular party over the ruling families must be decided.

When Cola di Rienzo prepared to execute his scheme for the overthrow of the nobility, the sufferings of the people had become insupportable. "The city of Rome was sunk in the deepest distress. There was no one to govern. Fighting was of daily occurrence; robbery was rife. Nuns, even children, were outraged; wives were torn from their husbands' beds. Labourers on their way to work were robbed at the very gates of the city. Pilgrims were plundered and strangled; the priests were evil-doers; every sin was unbridled. There was no remedy; universal destruction threatened. There was only one law—the law of the sword. There was no other remedy than self-defence in combination with relations and friends. Armed men assembled together every day."[2]

[1] The term Cavalerotti is first found in the *Vita* of Cola, i. c. 4, where it is said that he assembled on the Aventine *molti romani popolani discreti e buoni uomini, anco fra essi furo cavallerotti e di buono legnaggio, molti discreti e ricci mercanti.* M. Villani, xi. c. 25, calls them together *Principi e Gentiluomini e cavallerotti.*

[2] *Vita*, i. c. 5.

Robert Orsini and Peter Colonna, Senators, 1347.

It was the month of May 1347. Robert Orsini and Peter, son of Agapitus Colonna, who had previously been provost of Marseilles, and had then returned to secular life, now ruled the Senate.[1] The Roman militia, under Stephen Colonna, had gone to the neighbourhood of Corneto, the granary of Rome, to procure corn, and Cola hastened to profit by the absence of Rome's most powerful baron. He had initiated Raymond, Bishop of Orvieto, the spiritual vicar of the Pope, into his plans, for so just appeared the grounds of the revolution that this prelate promised it his support. The movement was thus placed beforehand under the authority of the Church.

Revolution in Rome, May 19, 1347.

On May 19, heralds paraded the city and invited the unarmed populace to a parliament on the Capitol, when the bells should give the summons. Only the initiated understood the signal. At midnight Cola heard mass for Whitsunday in S. Angelo in Pescheria, where the conspirators had assembled. He placed himself and his work under the protection of the Holy Ghost, by whose mystic power he believed himself inspired. On the morning of Whitsunday he left the church in full armour, his head only uncovered, and surrounded by his fellow-con-

[1] As late as December 22, 1344, in his will made at Avignon, Peter calls himself *praepositus Massiliensis* (Colonna Archives, xiii., Scaf. v. n. 23). The series of Senators after Jordan Orsini and John Colonna (July 1, 1344, until January 1, 1345) is: Berthold Orsini and Ursus Anguillara (first half of 1345); Raynald Orsini and Nicholas de Anibaldis (second half of 1345); Ursus Jacobi Napoleonis and Nicholas Stephani de Comite (first half of 1346); Nicholas Anibaldi and Jordan Orsini (second half of 1346); Peter Agapiti and Robert Orsini (first half 1347). Taken from the Statute of Merchants.

spirators. Three great banners were carried before him: the red and gold banner of freedom, with the image of Rome; the white banner of justice, with S. Paul, the sword-bearer; the banner of peace, with S. Peter; a fourth banner, that of S. George, being old and tattered, was carried in a coffer on a lance. The revolt formally began with a procession to the Capitol; but few armed men protected the way. The papal vicar walked beside Cola with uncertain step, and the bishop and the demagogue ascended together to the Palace of the Capitol. Cola mounted the tribune; he spoke with fascinating eloquence of the servitude and redemption of Rome. He assured his audience that he was ready to sacrifice his life out of love for the Pope and for the salvation of the people. A thousand voices shouted applause. Here one of the conspirators belonging to the Mancini family read a series of decrees, which ordained that every murderer was to be punished with death; every false accuser with the penalty that had fallen on the accused; that sentences must be executed in fifteen days; that proscribed houses must be pulled down, but should revert to the camera; that each region of the city should provide one hundred men on foot and twenty-five on horse, each of whom should receive a shield and a reward from the State; that widows and orphans, convents and religious institutions should be supported by the State; that a guardship on the coast should protect the merchants; that the public taxes should belong to the civic camera;[1]

Cola's edict on the Capitol

[1] The popes always claimed the disposal of the civic taxes. Cola's important edict transferred this right to the popular government

that all fortresses, bridges, and gates should be defended by the rector of the people; that no aristocrat should occupy a fortress; that all places in the civic territory should receive their rectors from Rome; that the barons should be obliged to preserve the safety of the roads, to refuse shelter to any bandit, and to supply corn to Rome; that a granary should be established in every region. The parliament passed these wise laws with tumultuous applause. It conferred the full signory of the city on Cola, with unlimited authority, as reformer and conservator of the republic, to make peace and war, to punish crimes, to appoint to offices, and to promulgate laws.[1]

Cola di Rienzo, Tribune of the people.

The new dictator modestly invited the papal vicar to become his companion in office, whereby the popular government would be assured of the Pope's recognition. Rome seemed under the power of an irresistible spell. The Senators fled; many nobles left the city; not a drop of blood was shed. The people met in constant deliberation. In another parliament Cola assumed the title of "Tribune," because, being a man of the people, he wished to restore the fame of the ancient tribunate. A white dove hovered accidentally over the assembled crowd, and Cola flattered himself that this was a symbol of the divine sanction to his appointment.[2] The idea

(*buono stato*). Concerning this, see Malatesta, *Statuti delle gabelle di Roma*, Rome 1886, p. 25.

[1] Cola's letter to Viterbo, of May 24. Hobhouse, p. 526. Letter of June 7 to Florence, in Gaye, *Carteggio inedito d'artisti*, i. 53.

[2] Papencordt, Doc., p. lii. He assumed the title even before May 24.

of the tribunate had been consecrated by antiquity, and was intelligible to all. Cola could therefore assume the title without exciting ill-will; but he added to it by pompous epithets, which revealed his fantastic mind. He called himself Nicholas, by the authority of our most merciful Lord Jesus Christ, the Severe and Clement, the Tribune of Freedom, of Peace and Justice, and the Illustrious Redeemer of the Holy Roman republic.[1]

The news quickly spread throughout Italy and across the Alps that the republic of Rome was delivered from its tyrants, and its ancient freedom restored by a wondrous hero.

[1] *Auctore clementissimo D. N. J. Christo Nicholaus, Severus et Clemens, Libertatis, Pacis, Justiciaeque Tribunus, et Sacre Romane Reipublice Liberator.* He afterwards himself explained that he had adopted the epithet *Severus* in memory of *Boetius Severinus.* The armorial bearings—*azure*, a sun *or* surrounded by seven stars, *argent* —which he immediately assumed, he also explained to have been that of Boetius. Letter to Charles IV., Papencordt, Doc., p. xxxiv. [where *in campo aureo* should probably be altered to in campo *azurreo.*—TRANSL.].

CHAPTER VI.

1. Rome does Homage to the Tribune — He Summons the Italians to a National Parliament—His Institutions in Rome; his strict Justice, Administration of the Finances and Regulation of the Community—Answers to his Despatches—Magic Power of the Idea of Rome—Petrarch and Cola di Rienzo.

Events in Rome took the aristocrats by surprise. Stephen Colonna, it is true, hastened from Corneto to the city, but was unable to do anything beyond vent his anger in words. The Tribune sent him his command to leave Rome; the aged hero tore the document in pieces, and exclaimed, "If this fool provokes me further, I will throw him from the windows of the Capitol." The bell sounded an alarm, the people assembled in arms, and Stephen, accompanied by a single servant, fled to Palestrina. The Tribune confined all the nobles to their estates, garrisoned all fortresses and bridges of the city, and spread terror by the strictest justice. Feeling himself in full possession of power, he summoned the nobles to do homage on the Capitol; they came trembling, as they had formerly come at the bidding of Arlotti; the younger Stephen Colonna himself appeared with his sons, and even Raynald and Jordan

The Roman nobles yield submission to the Tribune.

Orsini, the Savelli, Anibaldi, and Conti. They swore to the laws of the republic, and placed themselves at its service. The College of Judges as well, the notaries and the guilds, did homage to the Tribune, and his rule in Rome was thus recognised by all classes.

In none of the other revolutions had it occurred to the heads of the city to send letters announcing their accession to government outside the sphere of the city itself. Cola, however, thought of Rome in its relation towards Italy and the world. His envoys carried letters to all communes, princes, and despots of Italy; even to the Emperor Lewis and the King of France. In these letters the Tribune pointed out to the cities of the Roman province that Rome, liberated by him, had at length found peace and law; he exhorted them to address thanksgivings to God, to seize arms for the extirpation of all tyrants, and at an appointed time to send two syndics and a judge to Rome, where a general parliament would take counsel concerning the well-being of the entire Roman province. These letters were written with intelligence and dignity.[1] From a higher point of view, Cola wrote to the cities of Italy, and exhorted them to join in throwing off the yoke of the tyrants, and to form a national brotherhood, since the deliverance of the eternal city was also that of "the whole of sacred Italy." He further invited them to send

Cola summons Italy to strike for liberty.

[1] The first letter, addressed to Viterbo, and dated May 24 (Hobhouse, p. 526), is one of the best writings of the Tribune, a statesmanlike document, to the point, and without a trace of whimsicality.

deputies and judges to a national parliament in Rome on August 1. The great and truly ingenious scheme of making Italy into a confederation, with Rome as its head, was here expressed for the first time, and its novelty and boldness filled the world with admiration.[1] Thus, at the very beginning of his reign, Cola di Rienzo displayed lofty national ideas in sight of his native country. It is probable that, immediately after the revolution, Raymond, the papal vicar, sent a despatch to his master, whose recognition was above all things necessary to Cola. As to the Tribune himself, not until the beginning of June does he seem to have notified his elevation to power to the Pope.[2] The simple Bishop of Orvieto cut but a sorry figure beside the Tribune, like Lepidus beside Octavian: all letters are written by Cola alone, and not in one single political act is his colleague in office mentioned by a word.

While his messengers, bearing a silver wand, scoured Italy, the Tribune established his government in the Capitol. With the exception of the removal of the Senators, the constitution was not changed; the great and little Council, the Thirteen, the College of Judges continued to exist. From motives of prudence Cola required only a three months' term of office for himself, but the Romans scarcely heard him speak of his retirement when

[1] Despatch to Florence, given *in capitolio urbis septimo m. junii, ubi de celo remissa justitia recto corde vigemus* (Gaye, p. 53); likewise circular of June 7 to Perugia, Modena, and Lucca. June 7, to Mantua (original in the Archives of Mantua).

[2] Cola's first letter to the Pope has not come down to us.

they swore they would rather perish than that he should withdraw from the government—a result that he had foreseen. He appointed a syndicate, however, for the administration of his office. He had coins struck immediately, and brought engravers from Florence for the purpose.[1] He surrounded himself with a military escort of devoted men—the first care of tyrants as well as of champions of liberty. Three hundred and ninety cavalerotti, citizens on horseback, splendidly equipped, and a militia of foot soldiers numbering thirteen banners with one hundred men to each, were appointed to defend his government.[2] His person, like that of Pisistratus in former days, was moreover protected by a body-guard formed of one hundred youths from his quarter Regola, who, armed with lances, invariably preceded the son of the tavern-keeper on the bank of the Tiber, as, mounted on a white horse, clad in vesture of white silk with gold fringe, and a royal banner waving over

Cola's good government in Rome.

[1] Two of his silver coins have been preserved. The first bears the legend, ROMA CAPVT MV; on the reverse, ALMVS TRIBVNATVS and VRBIS between the arms of a cross. It is in the Kircherian Museum, and resembles a coin in Vitale, *del Senat.*, Tab. v. n. iv., where we read instead ALMVS RO SENAT. The second, ROMA CAPV MV and N. TRIBVN. AVGVST., was struck later, and after the month of August. They are illustrated in Papencordt [Vettori], *il Fiorino d'oro*, p. 120. The silver is bad (*di mistura*). Both bear on the obverse an indistinct type (with a star, sun, and moon above); Papencordt holds it to be the carding-comb of Provins, and believes that these "Provisini" of the Senate were imitations of the coins of that city, which owed its wealth to its wool manufactures. Fioravanti and Rè, however, with greater discrimination, see the banner of the Tribune in this rude emblem.

[2] The banners were those which had long been adopted by the regions—*e divise li confaloni secondo li segnali de li rioni.*

his head, he rode through the city. The armed militia gave emphasis to his justice, and justice was Cola's greatest merit. He punished without respect of persons. A Cistercian monk found guilty of some crime was beheaded; a baron of the house of Anibaldi suffered the same fate, and an ex-senator the ignominy of being hanged on the very Capitol where he had formerly ruled the republic in pomp and splendour. This was Martin Stefaneschi, lord of Portus, nephew of two cardinals, namely, Anibaldo of Ceccano and the celebrated Jacopo Stefaneschi. His crime was that of sacking a vessel which was on its way to Naples, bearing the revenues of Provence. The Tribune's bailiffs tore the ailing ex-senator from the arms of his young wife; and the despairing widow, looking from the loggia of her palace, might soon after have beheld the body of her husband swinging in the air.[1] The execution spread mortal terror among the nobility. The palaces in Rome, like those of the foreign embassies at a later time, were then asylums for criminals of every kind; the Tribune, however, caused a robber to be seized in the dwelling of the Colonna and executed. Barons expiated any lawlessness suffered on their estates by heavy fines. Several were lodged in the dungeon of the Capitol. Even Peter Colonna, the banished ex-

[1] She was Marsia degli Alberteschi. Cola's naïve biographer draws a rough but powerful portrait of the unfortunate, dropsical ex-senator (of the year 1340); such as Dante drew of some of the damned: *piene le gambe, lo collo sottile, e la faccia macra, e la sete grandissima; liuoto da suonare parea.* Concerning the stranded vessel: *Fragm. Hist. Rom.*, p. 395. From this we see that Portus was still a fortress.

senator, was led on foot to prison by constables. Corrupt judges, wearing lofty mitres on which their crimes were inscribed, were exposed in the pillory. An Augean stable of abuses, of corruption, perjury, fraud, of falsehood and deceit, was to be cleansed, and no one was better acquainted with the desperate condition of the Roman administration than the former notary of the civic camera. The beneficent institution of a tribunal of the peace checked the enmities in the city; for judges taken from the people assembled in a palace, on the summit of which waved the banner of S. Paul, and reconciled the parties either by exhortations or by the barbarous *jus talionis*. Cola could boast that he had reconciled 1800 citizens who were at deadly enmity with one another.[1] The exiles were recalled; the destitute received liberal assistance. A strict system of police punished adulterers and gamblers. The servile use of the title of Don or Dominus given to the nobility was prohibited; henceforward the Pope alone was to be addressed as Lord.[2] It was forbidden to affix the arms of barons to houses; only those of the Pope and the Senate were allowed to remain. The palisades with which the nobles entrenched their houses were swept away; it was decreed that the materials

[1] Letter to the Archbishop of Prague, in Papencordt, p. xlvii.

[2] *Quod nullus Romanus deinde auderet aliquem nisi solam S. R. Eccl. Sanctitatemque vestram in Dominum nominare.* Letter of Cola to the Pope, in Hocsemius, *Gesta Pontif. Tungrensium*, ii. 501. De Sade, ii. 344, ingeniously explains this as an abolition of the title of Signor. The title Seigneur was likewise abolished by the French Revolution, and in our day the Dictator Garibaldi forbade the Neapolitans to use the title "Eccellenza."

were to be employed for the restoration of the Palace of the Senate, and each ex-senator was compelled to pay a hundred gold florins towards the new building.[1]

A well ordered administration increased the revenues of the civic camera by the hearth tax (*focaticum*), the feudal rent of subject places, by the annual dues which isolated towns such as Tivoli, Toscanella, Velletri, and Corneto had to pay in money or grain, by the dues on bridges, roads, rivers, and finally by the monopoly of the salt works of Ostia.[2] According to an ancient statement the hearth tax for every chimney amounted to 26 denari, or to 1 carlin and 4 denari. Cola computed the proceeds of this tax for the whole civic territory, from Ceprano to the river Paglia, at 100,000 gold florins, the revenues of the salt monopoly at about the same, and finally 100,000 gold florins as the proceeds of the tolls and city fortresses. It is true that the correctness of these statements is doubtful in spite of the size of the civic territory.[3]

[1] Apparently even before this time every Senator had been pledged to contribute 100 florins of his salary to the restoration of the Palace of the Senators; so, at least, says the article, *De Salario senatoris* in the MS. Statute of the year 1363 (Camillo Rè, "Il Campidoglio—nel sec. XIV.," *Bull. d. Comm. Arch. Com.*, 1882, p. 99).

[2] The salt works of Ostia had been worked since Roman times; they were superintended by the *Salinarii Urbis*. The salt was kept in the vaults of the Tabularium. In 1392 the monks of S. Gregorio declared before the Senator: *quod cum monasterium a temp., cujus memoria non existit, habuerit in campis Hostiensib. et salinis quam plura fila, in quib. filis sal per salinarios urbis*, &c. Mittarelli, *Annal. Camald.*, vi. p. 573.

[3] *Vita*, i. c. 4; Papencordt, *Cola*, p. 35. The sum would be large, since Florence only received 300,000, Pisa only 250,000 florins

The Tribune suppressed the tolls on the roads, which the barons had formerly appropriated, and restricted the tax on articles of consumption (*gabella*), which had produced a large sum, more especially in Florence. On the other hand, the hearth tax was rigorously imposed. All vassals of the city paid it readily, the Prefect John of Vico excepted. At the same time, Cola gained many places by his magnanimity. Toscanella was allowed to commute the yearly tribute of 1000 pounds of gold for 100 pounds of wax for the church of Aracoeli, and Velletri received back its independence.[1] Wise laws regulated market prices and filled the granaries. Corn was also brought from Sicily, and even the desolate Campagna began to be cultivated under the Tribune.[2] The roads, which were now safe, were animated by commerce and traffic. The peasant again cultivated his fields unarmed, and the pilgrim, heedless of danger, again wended his way to the sanctuaries of Rome. A religious spirit pervaded the emancipated people, as it pervaded the British nation in the time of Cromwell; civic virtue, which had been quenched

(Villani, xi. c. 92). We are, however, afterwards told in the *Vita* of John XXII. that this Pope raised the revenue from the wine-tax (which had always yielded 80,000 florins in Rome) to 100,000 florins, and from this we may judge whether Cola's budget is really to be placed as low as Papencordt supposes.

[1] Borgia, *Velletri*, p. 307. The city was torn asunder by the parties of the "Lupi" and the "Pecori" (wolves and sheep).

[2] *Et terras Romani districtus, quarum diu inculta pars maxima jacuit, reduci faciens ad culturam*, thus he writes to the Pope (Hobhouse, p. 558); a remarkable attempt, as to which more detailed information is lacking.

by crime, revived under the rays of liberty and peace.[1]

The fame of the man who had achieved such great results in so short a time spread through the world. That the distant Sultan in Babylon trembled in fear of the Tribune was an amusing fiction narrated by sailors; but it was probably no exaggeration when one of Cola's envoys announced on his return, "I have carried this wand of embassy publicly through woods and along roads; countless men have knelt before it, and kissed it with tears of joy, because the highways are now free from robbers." During the first months of his rule Cola deserved to be the idol of Rome, and to inaugurate a new era of republican liberty.[2] The people saw in him a man elected by God. No one yet censured the vain pomp in which the Tribune of the people appeared whenever he traversed the city. On the festival of SS. Peter and Paul he rode to the cathedral on a powerful charger, clad in green and yellow velvet, carried a sceptre of glittering steel in his hand, and was surrounded by fifty spearmen. A Roman carried the banner with his coat of arms above his head; another bore the Sword of Justice before him; a knight scattered gold among the

[1] Cola describes the change in the Romans to a friend in the Curia at Avignon (Hobhouse, p. 536). He says of himself: *multo vivebat quietius Cola Laurentii quam Tribunus—noctem addimus operi et labori.* A sincere letter, full of noble feeling. *Dat. in Capitolio, in quo regnante justitia, recto corde vigemus, die* 15 *Julii, XV. Ind. liberatae rei publicae Anno Primo.*

[2] In the same way the French republic altered the chronology, and reckoned time according to the years of liberty. The phenomena of the modern revolution occasionally remind us of the days of the Tribune of Rome.

people, while an imposing train of *cavalerotti* and officials of the Capitol, of *popolani*, and nobles either preceded or followed him. Trumpeters blared through silver tubes, and musicians played on silver cymbals. The dignitaries of the cathedral, ranged on the steps of S. Peter's, greeted the Dictator of Rome with the strains of the *Veni Creator Spiritus*.

Meanwhile answers arrived to Cola's letters. The Pope, who at first had been alarmed, was tranquillised, or at least appeared to be so. True he complained that the constitution had been changed without his intervention; he acquiesced, however, in the revolution, and confirmed Nicholas and Raymond as rectors of the city. The messenger returning from Avignon brought Cola a casket inlaid with silver, on the lid of which were represented the arms of Rome, the Tribune, and of the Pope. Clement's amiable letter produced great satisfaction.[1] Deputies from the cities daily arrived to attend the national parliament. Their presence filled the Romans with self-consciousness, while it strengthened Cola in the belief in his mission and power. The Capitol seemed indeed to have become the political centre of Italy. True that some of the despots in Lombardy had at first received the Tribune's letters of invitation with contempt; they nevertheless soon declared themselves ready to send deputies to the national parliament. Lucchino, the tyrant of Milan, exhorted Cola to maintain the new constitution, but to proceed

The Italian cities send greetings to Cola di Rienzo.

[1] The two letters to Cola and Raymond as rectors, and to the Roman people, are dated June 27 (Papencordt, Doc., n. 4). The Pope paid no regard to the title of Tribune.

against the barons with caution; the Doge Andrea Dandolo and the Genoese offered their services in respectful letters; Lucca and Florence, Siena, Arezzo, Todi, Terni, Pistoja and Foligno, Assisi, Spoleto, Rieti and Amelia called the Tribune their illustrious prince and father, and expressed the hope that the change in Rome would redound to the welfare of Italy.[1] All the cities of the Campagna and Maritima, of the Sabina and Roman Tuscany did homage to the Capitol by solemn embassies, while hostile parties from a greater distance brought their quarrels before the Tribune, seeking his decision.

Nothing bears clearer witness to the power which the revered name of Rome still exercised than the recognition which Cola di Rienzo obtained from almost all the lords and cities of Italy, whose communes were guided not by enthusiasts but by serious statesmen. Far and wide the belief was cherished that the Roman republic would arise in its ancient splendour, and already there glimmered a magic ray of long extinct paganism, whose spirits only seemed to await the word of the enchanter to burst from their graves. There was, moreover, no sincere Christian who did not regard the sojourn of the popes at Avignon as a crime against the sacred city. Its deliverance from the power of the tyrants, and the security now assured to the pilgrims, were regarded as universal concerns. The revolution so

[1] Lucca's answer of June 23 (Papencordt, Doc., n. 2) is addressed, *Seren. principi et D. Nicolao severo et clem. libertatis pacis justitieque tribuno et Sacre Rom. Reip. liberatori karissimo patri.*

successfully accomplished consequently appeared a great event, which would probably be followed by the return of the Papacy and the restoration of the empire. It is only fair to acknowledge that Cola di Rienzo with genius grasped and expressed the ideas of his time. Dante would undoubtedly have greeted the new saviour of Italy under the mystic image of the "Veltro." The Tribune's conception of the Lex Regia, of the inalienable majesty of Rome, on which the empire rested, entirely harmonised with the principles of the *Monarchia*, in which a great poet had explained that the Roman people, as the noblest on earth, had been chosen by God through wonders and historic deeds for the government of the world. Although he never appealed to it, Cola was doubtlessly acquainted with Dante's treatise. But in Henry VII. and Lewis the Bavarian, the Ghibelline idea had proved impracticable; for no foreign emperor had been able to heal dismembered Italy. A gifted man now arose in deserted Rome, restored the republic, and neither as Guelf nor as Ghibelline, but as Roman Tribune, offered the Italians the salvation which the Ghibellines had sought in vain from the German emperor, the Guelfs in vain from the pope. A third idea now woke to life, that of a confederation of Italy under the guidance of Rome, the sacred mother. The thought of the unity of the nation was openly expressed for the first time, and Italy conceived the hope of rescue and restoration by her own means.[1]

[1] . . . *ut plerique Romanam Remp. reviviscere posse putaverint.* Bonincontr. ap. Lamium, *Deliciae Erudit.*, vi. 330. The modern

Petrarch hails the Tribune as Saviour of Italy.

Petrarch, who now took the place of Dante as the representative of the Italian national spirit, affords the best proof of the magic influence of Cola on his age, and of the current of ideas of antiquity with which it was permeated. When this one Roman of the most obscure origin, he wrote afterwards, arose, when he ventured to take the republic on his weak shoulders, and to support the tottering empire, Italy stood erect as if by a stroke of magic, and the terror and renown of the Roman name penetrated to the ends of the world.[1] The crowned Roman citizen, the reviver of classic learning, whose mind was filled with dreams of Scipio and Brutus, shared with Dante the principles of the *Monarchia*, and saw, amid the degenerate Roman populace, the only source of universal dominion; in the ruin-heaps of Rome the lawful seat of both emperor and pope. These views were pushed to their furthest issues by the Italian hostility towards the continued sojourn of the popes in Avignon. When the wonderful Tribune arose on the Capitol, Petrarch greeted him as the man whom he had long sought and at last found, as the political incarnation of his own thought, as a hero who had

catchword, *l'Italia farà da sè*, properly speaking, dates from Cola. Such was the progress of national thought beyond Dante, who was still fettered by Ghibellinism.

[1] *Eram ego tunc in Gallia, et scio quid audierim, quid viderim, quid eorum qui maximi habebantur* (the Pope) *in verbis, inque oculis legerim, negarent modo forsitan—vere autem tunc omnia pavor compleverat, adeo adhuc aliquid Roma est.—Contra—Galli calumnias*, Opp. Basil., pp. 1068–1085. Read *Ep. sine tit.*, iii., to the Roman people (*an Imperium Romae sit?—si Imper. Romanum Romae non est, ubi queso est?*). His tenet is: *Roma totius humane magnificentiae supremum domicilium est.*

sprung armed from his own brain. From Avignon he addressed enthusiastic congratulations to Cola and the Roman people. He sacrificed his love for the house of Colonna to freedom and his native country. All the great men, from whose ranks popes, cardinals, senators, and generals had issued in previous centuries, only appeared to him as foreigners, as descendants of former slaves of war, as Vandals who destroyed the grandeur of the city, as usurpers who had appropriated the monuments and rights of the republic; in short, as an invading caste of robbers, who ruled in Rome as in a conquered city, and maltreated the genuine Roman citizens as their slaves.[1] "Prudence and courage," exclaimed Petrarch, "be with you, since power you will not lack, not only to maintain

[1] *Ep. Hortatoria ad Nicol. Laurentii Tribun. Populumque R.* (Opp., 535). *Adventitios et alienigenas dominos habuistis, decoris vestri fortunarumque raptores, libertatis eversores—singulor. origines recensete, hunc vallis Spoletana, illum Rhenus, aut Rhodanus, aut aliquis ignobilis terrar. angulus misit.* The Colonna traced their family from the Rhine, the Orsini from the valley of the Tiber near Spoleto. Of undoubted German origin in Rome were the Astaldi, Astolfi, Anibaldi, Alberini, Alberteschi, Antiochia, Bulgamini, Berardi, Boneschi, Benzoni, Berta, Conti, Franchi, Farulfi, Gulferani, Gerardi, Gottifredi, Gabrielli, Gaetani, Gandulfi, Guidoni, Ilperini, Normanni, Oddoni, Pandulfi, Reinerii, Roffredi, Sassi, Senebaldi, Savelli, Stefaneschi, Tebaldi, Tedalli. The origin of the Orsini is obscure. The Colonna, as descendants of Alberic of Tusculum, may be regarded as Germans. Roman genealogies were compiled as early as *saec.* xiv. One is supposed to have been compiled by Peter, a notary, about 1350 (Archives of S. Croce, D. 4). In these documents the Astalli, Caputzunchi (*ex gente Hamala Gothorum*), Capocci, Corvini, were assigned a Gothic origin; the Santa Croce, Massimi, Crescentii, Buccamatii, Frangipani, Colonna, Comites, &c., were held to be of an ancient Roman lineage.

freedom, but also to recover the empire.[1] Every one must wish Rome good fortune. So just a cause is sure of the approval of God and the world." He wished Cola success, called him the new Camillus, Brutus, and Romulus; said that not till now were the Romans true citizens, and exhorted them to honour their deliverer as a messenger of God.

The enthusiastic approval of a man honoured as a genius by the whole world inflamed Cola's imagination, and strengthened him in all his dreams. He caused Petrarch's letter to be read aloud in parliament, where it produced a great impression. He himself invited the poet to leave Avignon, and adorn the city with his presence, as a jewel adorned a ring.[2] Instead of Petrarch, his promised festival ode appeared. He dedicated his finest poem to the freedom of Rome and its new hero. The Roman revolution found its poet in Petrarch, as all subsequent revolutions have also found their poets of liberty.[3] And as he stood in

[1] . . . *non modo ad libertatem tuendam, sed etiam ad imperium repetendum. Quantum vero confert recordatio vetustatis, et mundo dilecti nominis majestas? — — Italia, quae cum capite aegrotante* (Rome) *languebat, sese jam nunc erexit in cubitum.*

[2] De Sade, ii. 342; *Pièces justificatives*, xxx.

[3] The question, who was the hero of the ode, *Spirito gentil*, has given rise to researches as tedious as those concerning Dante's *Veltro*. But after the studies of Zefirino Rè and Papencordt, the matter might have been regarded as settled. I refer to F. Torraca, "Cola di Rienzo e F. Petrarca," *Arch. di S. Rom.*, viii. (1885), p. 141 f., in which is found the literature of this controversy. Petrarch was the Chenier of the Roman Revolution; his enthusiasm for freedom resembled that of Schiller, when Schiller hailed the French Revolution. Here, again, with Petrarch begins the man of modern times.

splendour on the Capitol, in sight of the world, Cola reached the summit of his fortune. We shall now see the actual form which he imparted to his audacious schemes.

2. SUBJUGATION OF THE CITY PREFECT—DECREE ORDAINING THAT ALL PREROGATIVES OF MAJESTY SHOULD REVERT TO THE CITY OF ROME—COLA'S NATIONAL PROGRAMME—FESTIVALS OF AUGUST 1 AND 2—COLA'S ELEVATION TO THE KNIGHTHOOD—EDICT OF AUGUST 1—COLA GIVES ROMAN CITIZENSHIP TO ALL ITALIANS—CITATION OF THE PRINCES OF THE EMPIRE—THEORIES CONCERNING THE INALIENABLE MAJESTY OF ROME—FESTIVAL OF ITALIAN UNION ON AUGUST 2—THE EMPEROR LEWIS AND THE POPE — ELECTION OF CHARLES IV.—HIS ABASEMENT BEFORE THE POPE.

The Tribune had subjugated all the recalcitrant nobles; some, more particularly those of the house of Orsini, even took service under the republic; the City Prefect and the Gaetani alone refused to do homage. John of Vico, successor to his father in the prefecture (which was hereditary in this German family), having murdered his brother in 1338, had set up as tyrant in Viterbo, and made himself ruler in Tuscany.[1] Cola placed him under the ban, deposed him from the prefecture, himself assumed the title of prefect by a decree of parliament, and prepared

Cola subjugates the Prefect of the city.

[1] The murdered man was Faziolo, who had assassinated Silvestro de Gatti. A document of this *Faziolus de Prefectis*, of March 7, 1334, is published by Nerini, *de Templo*, p. 503. To this family belonged the *Sancta Pupa de Praefectis*, and the descendants of *Landulfus de Praef. ex dominis castri Bracciani.*

for war.[1] John of Vico relied on his own power, on the secret favour of the rector of the Patrimony, and on the Lombard mercenaries. The Tribune turned for help to Florence, where his envoy, Francesco Baroncelli, found a ready hearing.[2] He complained to the Pope of the rectors of the Patrimony and Campagna, who lent their support not only to the Prefect but also to the Gaetani; nevertheless, he was soon able to give tidings of victory.[3] Although the reinforcements from Florence arrived too late, Perugia, Todi, Narni, and the Cornetans under Manfred of Vico, strengthened the Roman militia to the number of 1000 horse and 6000 foot soldiers. This army was commanded by Nicholas Orsini of S. Angelo as captain-general. As early as the end of June they besieged the fortress of Vetralla and laid waste the neighbourhood of Viterbo. The Prefect lost courage, and the Tribune was sincerely glad to yield to his desires. After a treaty concluded on July 16, John of Vico came to Rome, threw himself humbly before Cola, swore to observe the laws of the republic, and received the prefecture as

[1] On July 18 he also calls himself *alme urbis pref. ill.* Letter to Florence, Gaye, p. 396.

[2] Letter of Cola to Florence, Gaye, Append., n. 185, 187, of July 18. Baroncelli's speech in the Council of the Florentines on July 2, 1347 (Giov. Villani, Florence edition, 1845, iv. 266), contains sentences from Petrarch's letters and his *Canzone.* The other envoys were *Math. de Beannis, Pandulfus Guidonis de Franchis* (observe the survival of this German family), and *Stephanellus de Boetiis* (a still older name).

[3] Letter to Clement VI., July 7, 1347, in Hocsemius, p. 501. It is evident that he feared slanders.

its vassal. The celebrated office, which had previously been bestowed by the emperor and then by the pope, thus became for the time a fief of the people.[1] The sight of the powerful tyrant of Tuscany at his feet gave Cola a feeling of royal authority; like an imperator he commended the army, which advanced in triumph to the Capitol. Great were the consequences of the victory, for the authority of the republic now extended over the whole of Roman Tuscany. The results were manifested in an edict with which the Tribune, according to a pre-conceived design, opened the series of audacious decrees, by means of which he resolved to restore her ancient royal prerogatives to the Eternal City.

Edict proclaiming the majesty of the Roman people, July 26, 1347.

On July 26, in presence of a popular assembly, he caused to be confirmed the law which restored to the Roman people every jurisdiction, office, privilege, and power that they had ever bestowed on others. Before a council of Roman jurists and of those judges who had been sent by the Italian cities on Cola's invitation, the question whether the Roman republic was entitled to resume those rights had previously been submitted, and the council had replied in the affirmative. The Tribune consequently gave the curious edict the character of a decree of the Italian nation, pronounced by means of jurisconsults — its representatives. Nothing could be

[1] Treaty with the Prefect, Document, n. 5, in Papencordt.—*Johes de Vico—victus venit—in parlam. solempnissimo meos prostratus ad pedes humiliter.* Letter to the Pope, July 27 (n. 6). Further, n. 9, letter of Cochetus; Cola's letter to Florence, July 22. Gaye, p. 397.

more sweeping than such a decision; since it was necessarily directed not against the nobles alone, but against the Church and the empire. All genuine and spurious privilegia of the sacred chair from the donation of Constantine down to the time of Henry VII., as well as all titles and rights of imperial power, were thereby declared null and void, and the Roman people were represented as the sole and permanent source of these rights and dignities.[1] If the Romans assembled on the Capitol but looked down at their ruinous city and its mendicant inhabitants, or even themselves, we should imagine that they must have burst into laughter at the publication of this pompous decree; nevertheless, there was not one among them who did not, with solemn and serious mien, give it his assent in parliament.[2]

Less in consequence of this decree than owing to the impression made by the submission of the

[1] The edict is not forthcoming. Cola's letter to the Pope, of July 27 (Papencordt, Doc., p. vii.), *vest. Rom. Pop. omnes hujusm. concessiones, dation., translation., donation. ac alienation. jurisdictionum, officior. et rer. ad se omni modo et jure—revocavit, sub hon. et rever. S. Matris Eccl.* Cochetus writes with more decision to an Orsini in Avignon (on August 2, Papencordt, Doc., 9). I do not believe, he says, *quod extendat se ad dominium Pape, sed ad electores et Alamanniae Imperatores credo quod se extendat, et opinio omnium Romanor. est.*

[2] The revocation of all the donations of earlier emperors was repeated by Napoleon. *Je n'ai pu concilier ces grands intérêts, qu'en annullant les donations des Empereurs Français, mes prédécesseurs, et en réunissant les états romains à la France.* (Proclamation of 1809. Bryce, *The Holy Roman Empire*, p. 396.) History shows mysterious connections between different ages; what seems delusion in it is complete reality.

Prefect, several Roman fortresses surrendered to the Tribune;[1] but when distant Gaeta and Sora sent gifts of homage and begged for his protection, their conduct was due to the spell of the ancient name with which the world still re-echoed. A dream became a living power. All territories of the Roman duchy acknowledged themselves vassals of the Roman people; all communes of the Sabina pledged themselves to do homage to the republic on September 1.

August 1 was near at hand; magnificent embassies had already arrived from twenty-five cities. When Cola summoned the Italians to send deputies to Rome, his object was to constitute a parliament for the whole of Italy, and to assemble it on the Capitol. The idea was magnificent, and worthy of a statesman of the first rank; neither was it impracticable, since the time was sufficiently favourable for Italy to assume an independent form. The Pope was far away, the Emperor far away, the empire almost dissolved; Naples in a state of anarchy, the Roman nobility subdued, the middle class dominant in the majority of the republics; enthusiasm for freedom, hatred of the tyrants, the feeling of patriotism, and the spell of Rome prevailed in distant spheres. During the five centuries that followed, the Italian people never beheld a conjunction of historic circumstances so favourable to the scheme of nationality

[1] Piglio, the fortress belonging to the son of Matthew of Anagni, Montelongo, and other strongholds, which had been annexed by Cardinal John Colonna; Caere; Monticelli near Tivoli; Vitorchiano; the fortress of Civita Vecchia and Porto. *Vita*, i. c. 20.

as now in the days of the Tribune. Under similar conditions a man of Cromwell's genius would have brought a great revolution to a successful issue; to a gifted actor the task was impossible. Cola di Rienzo was endowed with fascinating talents and brilliant ideas, but was devoid of true creative power, and was formed for neither a law-giver, a statesman, nor a hero. He indulged in general theories; he was capable of forming these theories with logical sequence into an imposing scholastic system of thought; but he was unpractical, spiritless, and weak when face to face with the world of realities. The summit of glory and splendour on which he stood turned his head; vanity mastered his weak judgment, and his unrivalled imagination—an imagination which the greatest poets of all ages might have envied—caused him to see the actualities of life through a charmed medium. Cola also as a revolutionary stood under the influence of theology, and therein was entirely the contemporary of Dante. He applied to himself all the hopes concerning the Messiah of Italy, all the dreams of enthusiastic monks concerning the reign of the Holy Ghost. He believed that he—the obscure man so suddenly raised to power—was in political matters a second S. Francis, who would restore the tottering empire as the saint had restored the tottering Church. But the man of the people from Assisi, like every popular tribune of antiquity, would have rejected the companionship of the vain demagogue. The fear of opposition, nay, even of practical action, crippled his power of will. His national programme of

creating a united Italy, with Rome for its centre, was so audacious that he shrank before it. The question occupied the minds of men in Germany, Italy, and Avignon, although they failed to grasp its entire significance. Was it to the advantage of the world, the pope, and the emperor, of the republics and despots of Italy, that Rome, the cosmopolitan city, should be united to Italy? Even at the papal court the full significance of the problem was scarcely better understood than in Italy; nevertheless, opposition was immediately raised to Cola's schemes.[1] Municipal hostility awoke in the cities. The small number of republics (twenty-five) which sent legates to Rome shows how strong was this opposition. The Florentines hesitated to despatch plenipotentiaries, fearing that their autonomy might thereby be diminished, and Cola was obliged to pacify them by the assurance that such was not his intention.[2] And instead of the Italian parliament being summoned to Rome with an exclusively

[1] Memorable letter of Petrarch to Cola (*Principi Romano*), *Ep. sine Tit.*, iii. *Romam Italiae conjungere an utile?—Nuper—inter quosdam —in questionis formam propositum fuit: Expediretne terrarum orbi, urbem Romam et Italiam esse unanimes et pacificas?* It is ridiculous, says Petrarch, to quarrel over it any longer. What would he say, did he know that even now (in 1866) the subject is discussed throughout the whole world? Cola himself afterwards reproached the Pope with having distrusted this unity so deeply, *ut fuisset in Consistorio ipso propositum, utrum unitas Urbis et Italie Romane Ecclesie expediret.* Doc. in Papencordt, p. xlvii. The disunion, he said, was advantageous for the higher clergy, who regarded themselves as the entire Church.

[2] *Nam non pro alicujus jurisdictionis pretextu, sed pro reformatione antique amicitie et gaudiorum principio eos* (*syndicos et ambaxiatores*) *duximus amicabiliter expetendos.* Letter to Florence, July 22, 1347. Gaye, p. 398.

national aim, he already explained, from motives of fear and vanity, that its primary object was his own elevation to the dignity of knighthood and his coronation as Tribune.

The festival of August 1.

In ancient times the *Feriae Augusti* had been celebrated on August 1, and in the Middle Ages the day was (as it still is) kept as a popular festival, on which the chains of S. Peter were exhibited. The Tribune had consequently chosen it for his own fête. On the eve of the solemnity the Lateran was the scene of a fantastic assemblage. The legates from the cities, the foreign knights, Cola's wife and mother-in-law, surrounded by a brilliant company of noble ladies, behind them two youths, who carried a gilt bridle (a symbol, perhaps, of moderation), the gorgeous cavalry from Perugia and Corneto, who twice threw their silken garments among the people, the Tribune himself, clad in white silk embroidered in gold, the papal vicar beside him, preceded by the sword-bearer, and followed by the standard-bearer and a sumptuous retinue, appeared to the strains of music. The curious ceremony by which Cola received the dignity of knighthood, in the presence of the highest clerical dignitaries of Rome and the envoys of the Italian communes, imports a character borrowed from the romances of Amadis and Parcival into the political history of the city. Nevertheless, we must judge the solemnity according to the character of the Middle Ages, when, not at courts only but also in republics, the honour of chivalry was conferred by the most curious ceremonies, so that we hear of knights of the banquet, of the bath,

of the banner, of the battle-field, of the shield, and of honour.[1] In the evening the Tribune with his escort dismounted at the Baptistery of the Lateran and boldly plunged into the ancient basin, where, according to legend, the Emperor Constantine had washed away his paganism and leprosy. Cola here cleansed himself of the stains of sin in fragrant rose-water, while the vicar of the Pope pensively surveyed the desecrated font of Christianity. Cola's bath was soon enough reckoned as one of his chief offences; but the ingenious knight put the question, whether the bath which had been allowed to Constantine, a Pagan afflicted with leprosy, was not still more permissible to a Christian who had cleansed Rome from the leprosy of tyranny; whether the stone basin was holier than the temple trod by the foot of the Christian, or than the body of Christ of which he partook?[2] The Knight of the Bath, clad in white, lay down to rest on a couch, which had been erected under the porphyry columns of the ancient Baptistery, and, although troubled by the fear of the collapse of his temporary bed, passed the night in slumber. In the morning he clothed himself in scarlet and mounted to the Jubilee loggia of the

Cola assumes the dignity of knight.

[1] *Cavalieri di corredo, bagnati, banderesi, d'arme, di scudo, d'onore.* Note to G. Villani, ix. c. 276, in Dragomanni's edition.

[2] Cola to the Pope, October 11, 1347. Doc., n. 11, p. xxii., in Papencordt. Cochetus writes to Avignon on August 2: *in concha paragonis olim Constantini lavavit seu baptizatus fuit honorifice, ut esset imp., et plus quam imp., ad quam baptizationem omnes pred. ambassatores personal. interfuerunt.*, p. xviii. *Vita*, i. c. 25: *stupore è questo a dicere, molto fece la jente favellare.* The *Vita* also calls the basin *conca—di finissimo paragone* (touch-stone or basanite). It still stands in the Baptistery, and is of green basalt.

Lateran. The syndic of the people and other nobles here invested him with the girdle and gold spurs, while the solemn chaunts of the mass ascended from the Church. Henceforward, Cola called himself Candidate of the Holy Spirit, the Knight Nicholas, the Severe and Clement, the Deliverer of the City, the Zealot for Italy, the Friend of the World, the Tribunus Augustus.

He combined the festival which concerned his own person with the political acts which he had already prepared. After a short address to the people he caused a decree to be read from the same loggia by Egidius Angelerii, the notary of the Capitol. In accordance with the thoroughly theological spirit of the Tribune, he desired that this curious edict should be promulgated from the same place where Boniface VIII. had bestowed the Jubilee blessing on the world, and that it should operate as a blessing of Rome on the universe—a strange whim of intellectual madness, in which the papal benediction *Urbi et Orbi* was caricatured. The decree stated that Cola, having bathed in the basin of the glorious emperor Constantine, to the honour of God the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, of the Princes of the Apostles and S. John, to the glory of the Church and of the Pope, for the good of Rome, of holy Italy and the world, desiring that the gifts of the Holy Spirit should be poured out upon the city and Italy, and that he might emulate the magnanimity of ancient emperors, declared as follows: That the Roman people, according to the sentence already pronounced by the judges, were again in full possession of the juris-

He cites the princes of the empire before the tribunal of Rome.

diction over the whole world, as in antiquity; that all privilegia, which had been granted to the prejudice of this power, were already revoked; that in virtue of the dictatorship conferred upon him, and that he might not be niggard of the gifts of grace bestowed by the Holy Ghost, he pronounced the city of Rome the head of the world, and the foundation of Christendom; that at the same time he declared all the cities of Italy free, and presented them with the Roman citizenship; further, that the imperial monarchy and the imperial election belonged to the city, to the Roman and Italian people; accordingly, he invited all prelates, the emperors-elect, the electors, kings, dukes, princes, counts, margraves, peoples and cities who claimed any right to the election, at the coming Whitsuntide to appear at the sacred Lateran before him and the plenipotentiary of the Pope, as well as of the Roman people, with the proofs of their claims. Failing which, he would proceed against them as the law and the inspiration of the Holy Ghost required. More especially he cited Lewis Duke of Bavaria and Charles King of Bohemia as emperors-elect, also the Dukes of Austria and Saxony, the Margrave of Brandenburg, the Archbishops of Mainz, Tréves, and Cologne.[1]

[1] Proclamation of August I (frequently printed). It was the general opinion of the Italians that the cities had received their liberties from the ancient Romans. M. Villani says (1351): *Firenze, Perugia, e Siena—in segno della romana libertà, avendo veduto per li tempi passati l'incostanza degl' imperadori allemanni avere in Italia generate e accrescinte tiranesche soggezioni di popoli, hanno mantenuto la franchigia e la libertà discesa in loro dall' antico popolo romano* (Lib. iii. 1, and likewise lib. iv. c. 77).

The Romans, accustomed to all the spectacles of history, blunted to the distinctions between the sublime and the ridiculous, filled with pride of ancestry, imbued with the dogma of the eternal supremacy of Rome, living and breathing an atmosphere of dogmatism, neither laughed at this edict, nor at the figure of the crazy Tribune, who with drawn sword pointed in three directions in the air and cried, "This is mine." They loudly shouted their approval.[1] The absurd proclamation appeared as the ultimate consequence of the claims of the city to the imperial majesty, with which she had formerly confronted Conrad, the first of the Hohenstaufens. Not to forget was the destiny of the Romans. The thought of the ancient world-monarchy, which the writings and monuments of the past kept alive, and the gigantic shadow of the ancient empire, under which Rome lay, were esteemed realities by the later generation, and we may say that the history of the city in the Middle Ages was frequently nothing more than a continued funeral oration over the splendour of the ancient city. The errors and theories of Dante and Petrarch in their theological age explain or excuse the insane dreams of the Tribune. For both poets extol the Romans as the political people elected by God to the monarchy, as the Hebrews had been the religious people elected to monotheism; and like the Hebrews, the Romans acknowledged their historic mission as not already

[1] Only the intelligent Florentines already judged *che la detta impresa del tribuno era un' opera fantastica e da poco durare.* Villani, xii. c. 90.



accomplished, but to be continued through all time.[1] History had yet to perform a long task before men should be released from the dogmas of the past, and even down to latest times mankind has occasionally returned to bathe in Constantine's mystic font.[2]

The vicar of the Pope was taken by surprise. On hearing the edict, the dismayed bishop stood there, in the words of Cola's naïve biographer, like a man of wood. He raised a protest in the name of the Pope, but the voice of the notary was overwhelmed in a flourish of trumpets, as the speech of the prisoner on the scaffold is drowned by the rolling of drums.[3]

The festival was closed by a sumptuous banquet in the Lateran, where Bishop Raymond, seated beside the Tribune against whose folly he had just protested, helped to desecrate the marble pontifical

The banquet in the Lateran.

[1] *Le quali (ragioni) mostrano quella Città essere imperatrice, e da Dio aver spezial nascimento, e da Dio avere spezial processo.* Dante, *Convito*, iv. c. 4.

[2] Napoleon's coronation by the Pope, the theatrical pomp of his imperial court, and his ideas concerning the restoration of the empire of his predecessors, are only separated from the scenes of Cola's tribunate by four and a half centuries. The "Consul" and "Imperator" revived reminiscences of ancient Rome. Cola occasionally reappears in him, although on a colossal scale.

[3] The protest is not forthcoming, but its tenor is given in Raymund's letter to the Pope (n. 8, in Papencordt). He therein speaks of himself as having been outwitted . . . *obstupui et—tanta fui turbatione confusus, quod vires perdidi.* He now recognised that *ordinationes ipsae a maxima fatuitate procederent et essent edite contra ecclesiasticam libertatem.* The *Vita* says that Cola also cited the Pope and the cardinals, but this does not appear from the proclamation, unless the Pope could consider himself included in the *omnibus et singulis Praelatis.*

table. The foreign envoys, the nobles and citizens, the women, supped at other tables, and the populace held their rejoicings in front of the Lateran, where the bronze horse of Marcus Aurelius poured streams of wine and water through its nostrils.[1] Popular games and tournaments were celebrated both this and the following day, and since ancient times Rome had witnessed no similar festival. The envoys brought valuable gifts to the Tribune; even the Roman barons and citizens offered presents. The Colonna alone failed to appear; the Gaetani were declared under the ban, and Petrucius Frangipane was brought from Civita Lavinia and thrown into prison.

Festival of the unity of Italy, August 2, 1347.

On August 2, Cola celebrated on the Capitol the festival of the unity of Italy, or the fraternity of the cities. He presented to the envoys large and small banners bearing emblems, and placed gold rings on their fingers as symbols of their marriage with Rome. To the Florentines, whom he wished to distinguish, he gave the banner of Italy, with the figure of Rome between those of Italy and Faith. They refused, however, to receive it, fearing lest it might be regarded as a sign of enfeoffment. Envoys of other cities also only accepted the symbols under condition of preserving the rights of their republics. Pisa sent no representative at all.[2]

[1] The *Chron. Mutin.*, Mur., xv. 608, says that more than eighty caldrons were used to cook meat, and that there stood on the table a fortress made of pastry, from which the viands were produced.

[2] Perugia received the banner of Constantine, the white eagle on a red field, the words Asia, Africa, Europa below (Graziani, *Chron. of Perugia*, p. 144); Siena the banner of freedom; Todi the banner

Ideas, opinions, and forms are so deeply rooted in human nature that they repeat themselves at distant intervals, and unite the present with the past. The festivals of fraternity during the French Revolution in Paris appeared in truth an imitation of the August festival of the Tribune of the People in Rome. Cola now sent forth envoys to the Pope and the kings, to inform them of the great events that had taken place, to deliver his citations to the German princes, and to exhort the rulers of France and England, whose bitter enmity was injurious to Christendom, to make peace; above all, to announce to all lands that the illustrious Tribune was resolved to institute a new and peaceful system in the world. Such was the curious course adopted by the unsuccessful convocation of the first national parliament of Italy. Nothing practical was achieved or created; a political idea of the highest national importance was destroyed by its fantastic alliance with the idea of the world-monarchy, and only revealed itself in symbolic and theatrical scenes.

Cola di Rienzo, however, had already done more than enough to challenge the Papacy, and had now to dread the consequences of his provocation. He

with the arms of the Tribune and the She-wolf of Rome. The envoys would not carry the flags, on which account Cola wrote to Todi; the original letter of August 6, on parchment, is in the Archives of S. Fortunatus; Gaye justly observes that it is of the same tenor as that to Florence of August 5.—After August 1, Cola had a blue and gold panel, on which all his titles were inscribed, affixed to the tower of Aracoeli. (*Chron. Estense.*) He also caused his armorial bearings to be painted on the Palace of the Senators, where they remained until the seventeenth century.

had also challenged the authority of the Emperor, but the thought of imperial opposition caused him no dismay.

The audacious citation of the Emperor was merely the consequence of the humiliation of the crown of Charles the Great, which Lewis the Bavarian had first taken from the Roman people, and then, out of fear of the Pope, had not ventured to wear. And in truth the appearance of this democratic Emperor in Rome helps to explain the absurd edicts of the Roman Tribune. Afraid that Clement VI. would revive the proceedings instituted by John XXII., and in spite of the decrees of Rense, Lewis had offered humble submission to the Pope. The attempt at reconciliation failed, and the Pope succeeded in setting up a rival king in Germany, where many violations of the law had caused the elector-princes to renounce the Bavarian. The rival chosen was Charles of Moravia, son of John, King of Bohemia, and grandson of Henry VII. Before his election he had already promised in Avignon (April 22, 1346) to act as the submissive creature of the Pope, without extracting any advantage from the declaration of the independence of the empire, which, with the prospect of the imperial crown in view, had not been acknowledged by the voice of Bohemia. Charles was elected by his faction, headed by his great-uncle, Baldwin of Treves, at Rense, on July 11, 1346, to the joy of his father, that restless King of Bohemia, the blind hero, who met his death on the field of Crecy on August 26 of the same year. Charles was crowned in Bonn on November 25, and

was immediately after recognised by the Pope, to whom he renewed his vows on April 27, 1347. The contempt of all great-minded men was excited by the utter degradation to an empty title of the authority of the empire by the promises of its head, who, before his entrance into Italy, had undertaken to submit his person to the sanction of the Pope, to remain in Rome only for the day of his coronation, to leave the city immediately after, and never again to enter any territory of the Church. This degradation also partly explains Cola's foolhardy actions, which appear as satires directed against an empire that had fallen so low. In fact, the Candidate of the Holy Ghost showed more courage than the candidate for the imperial crown, when, amid the deplorable decay of the empire, he explained that all its prerogatives of majesty had reverted to their source, the Roman and Italian people.[1]

Charles IV., King of the Romans, Nov. 25, 1346.

[1] For the promises made in Avignon on April 22, 1346, see Theiner, ii. n. 156; Charles's oath as *Electus*, Luxemburg, September 19, 1346, n. 165; Doc. of Trent, April 27, 1347, Raynald, n. 2. Rudolf of Habsburg had already sworn never to assume any authority in the State of the Church or in Rome, but it was Charles IV. who first added: *promitto—quod ante diem mihi pro coronatione—prefigendam non ingrediar urbem R., quodque ipsa die, qua coronam—recepero—urbem exibo cum tota—gente mea; et—continuatis moderatis dietis extra terram Rom. Ecc. me recto gressu transferam versus terras Imperio subjectas.* This condition was first proposed to Henry VII. (Dönniges, ii. 56); in 1335 Lewis offered it of his own accord. In order to explain the disgrace involved in it, we may observe that it is almost the same formula that the Pope afterwards imposed on a company of mercenaries: *debeant infra viginti dies—iter arripere ad exeundum terras—Rom. Eccle.—et sic continuatis dietis exire teneantur terras praedictas* (Theiner, ii. n. 399, A. 1365).

3. The King of Hungary and Joanna of Naples appeal to Cola's Tribunal — The Tribune causes himself to be crowned on August 15— Coronation Edicts—The Gaetani yield Submission—Cola puts the Heads of the Colonna and Orsini Factions into Prison, Condemns and Pardons them—The Pope takes Measures against him—Cola's scheme of a National Italian Empire—The Pope begins the Trial— Bertrand de Deus, Cardinal-legate — The Tribune sends his Justification to the Pope.

For some time longer Italy believed in the Divine mission of the Tribune of the People, and soon after the festival of August he was strengthened in his delusion by the homage of Arezzo and by solemn embassies sent by great powers. Queen Joanna, an accomplice in the murder of her husband, had married her lover, Lewis of Taranto, with indecent haste, and now trembled before the vengeance of the King of Hungary, whose army had already arrived at Aquila. She sought the favour of the Tribune, and even condescended to sue for the goodwill of his wife, to whom she sent presents.[1] So high did Cola's reputation stand, that both parties sought his arbitration, for Lewis of Hungary also called on him to avenge the murder of King Andrew, and offered to form an alliance with him.

[1] On August 8, 1347, she wrote to the Florentines that her envoys would go first to the Tribune, then to Florence: *instanter profecturi per Tribunum urbis transitum faciendo.* Archives of Florence, lib. xvi., *de Capitulis*, p. 104.

An embassy from the Prince of Taranto, headed by an archbishop, came to entreat his goodwill; the Duke of Durazzo in his letters even called him his truest friend. Cola had reason to congratulate himself, since but for the anarchy which reigned over Naples he would never have attained the position which he now held in Rome. The Tribune received all these envoys with magnificence, but regard for the Pope, who protected Joanna, hindered him from openly declaring in favour of the King of Hungary.[1] His biographer assures us that Lewis of Bavaria also frequently sent messengers to implore his intercession with Clement, and there is nothing to prevent our believing the assertion. Fear alone deterred Cola from setting up as emperor; he had secretly conceived the idea, but the time did not yet seem favourable.[2] He first enacted a prologue to his future imperium on August 15, the day of the Assumption of the Virgin, when he caused himself to be solemnly crowned as Tribune. This was the reflex of the coronation of Petrarch, of which he had been an enthusiastic witness.

His fertile imagination conceived the whim of having himself crowned with six crowns, since,

[1] This he did in September. He pronounced Joanna to have forfeited Provence, and declared this imperial territory, the ancient "province" of the Romans, to be a public domain of the city. Bull of Clem. VI., *IV. Id. Oct.* 1347, Raynald, n. xvi.

[2] On August 4, the first embassy of Lewis of Hungary had arrived in Rome. On August 5, Cola wrote with much ambiguity to the Pope: *spes certa me confovet, quod in A.D. Jubileo vestra Sanctitas erit Roma, ac Imperator vobiscum, quod unum erit ovile et unus pastor.*—Doc., p. x., Papencordt.

Cola's solemn coronation, Aug. 15.

according to his opinion, his predecessors, the ancient tribunes of the people, had also been crowned. The belief was undoubtedly due to the passage in the *Mirabilia* which treats of the various crowns of the ancient Caesars. The curious blending of antiquity with Christianity, which is everywhere evident in Rome, found its true personification in the Tribunus Augustus and Candidate of the Holy Ghost. If Cola, standing in a church, surrounded by the most reverend ecclesiastics, and crowned now with one now with another wreath of flowers during the celebration of a solemn mass, appears to us insane, no less insane were the chief priests who performed the curious ceremony in all seriousness as a religious act; no less the envoys of the republics and the Romans who surveyed it with equal seriousness. All these men, and a thousand other prominent persons, stood under the spell of the mysticism of their age, and were evidently more fascinated by the magic influence of an illusion than by the power of an individual. Cola's coronation was the fantastic caricature in which ended the imperium of Charles the Great. A world where political action was represented in such guise was ripe for overthrow, or could only be saved by a great mental reformation.

Cola purposely had some of the wreaths made from the plants that grew on the triumphal Arch of Constantine.[1] The Prior of the Lateran handed

[1] He says so himself, but I doubt whether the myrtle grew there. Among the 420 different species of plants that Richard Deakin found growing in the Colosseum, the myrtle is not enumerated. (*Flora of the*



him the first crown, made of oak leaves, and said, "Take this wreath of oak because thou hast delivered the citizens from death." The Prior of S. Peter gave him the crown of ivy, saying, "Take the ivy because thou lovest religion." The Dean of S. Paul gave the crown of myrtle, with the words, "Take the myrtle because thou has reverenced thy office and learning, and hast hated avarice." The venerable Abbot of S. Lorenzo placed the crown of laurel on his head with similar words.[1] The fifth crown, formed of sprays of olive, was given by the Prior of S. Maria Maggiore, who said, "Man of humility, take the olive wreath because thou hast overcome pride with humility." Words more untrue were never spoken to one of the mighty of the earth or to a fool. The sixth crown, which was of silver, was handed with a sceptre by the Prior of S. Spirito, with the words, "Illustrious Tribune, take the gifts of the Holy Ghost with the crown and sceptre, and receive also the spiritual crown." Finally, Goffredo Scotti, syndic of the people, holding the globe, the symbol of the world, said, "Illustrious Tribune, receive and administer justice, bestow peace and

Colosseum of Rome, London, 1855.) *Omnes corone frondee, quas suscepi, in arcu triumphali ejusd. Constantini reperte fuere contingendo, quod cui concha militiam, arcus ejusdem coronam tribunitiam praebuisset.* To the Pope, October 11, 1347, n. 11, in Papencordt, p. xxv.

[1] *Suscipe laurum, quoniam officia et scientiam observasti, et avaritiam odisti;* perhaps merely a mistake of the writer, since the repetition of the same formula is out of place. The Abbot of S. Laurentius was chosen, on account of the name, to confer the laurus. We must recall the formulae used at the imperial coronation, in order to understand the caricature.

liberty," and kissed him.[1] Bishop Raymond had prudently absented himself from the function, but the vicar of the Cardinal of Ostia was present, wearing a solemn aspect as master of the ceremonies; while a man, clad as a beggar, the spirit of irony, received back the crowns of the Tribune. The silver he was not allowed to touch, for the Archbishop of Naples held it fast, without a smile, on Cola's head. Cola recollected that it had been the custom in antiquity to remind the triumfators by scorn and mockery of the vanity of all earthly greatness. We smile at the delusions of the Tribune, but the romantic character of the time explains, and the poetic cast of his imagination mitigates, their absurdity. And amid the mystic coronation ceremonies of lawful kings were there none more deserving of the smile of a philosopher than the innocent floral wreath of the Tribune of Rome? Vanity deprived Cola of reason; he now appeared to his own imagination as great as a hero of antiquity; or, rather, he believed that he was a

[1] See the programme of the coronation, which he himself had drawn up. Hocsemius, p. 505. In the chapter of the *Graphia aur. urbis R.*, *de coronis imperator.*, we read: *prima corona est de herba appii, de qua Hercules coronatus est. Sicut enim appium resistit venenis, ita Imp. de orbe venena malicie et nequitie debet expellere—Secunda de oleastro. Oleon. grece, latine misericordia interpretatur.* The third of poplar leaves; the fourth of oak; the fifth of laurel; the sixth the *Mitra* of Janus and the Trojan kings; the seventh the *Frigium;* the eighth of iron; the ninth of peacocks' feathers; the tenth of gold. Cola explained the six crowns and the imperial globe as the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost. He himself speaks in a letter to the Pope of *Sex coronis, quarum quinque fuerunt frondee—et sexta fuit argentea;* then of the *Pomum.* Hobhouse, p. 552.

saviour of the world. He did not hesitate to compare himself to Christ, since like Christ he had accomplished his work in thirty-three years, and had delivered Rome from tyrants.[1] A pious monk, listening to the impious boasting of the man whom he had hitherto regarded as a messenger of heaven, looked mournfully at him from a corner of the church and wept bitterly.[2]

Cola's coronation edict.

As emperors issue their edicts of coronation, the new Tribune announced new laws to the parliament gathered for his coronation. He confirmed the rights of Roman citizenship to all Italy; prohibited emperors and princes from making an armed entry into the country without permission of the Pope and of the Roman people, and forbade the use of the accursed party names of Guelfs and Ghibellines.[3] These edicts may have been irreproachable, but how could Cola enforce them? Had he possessed the art of a simple military captain instead of the gifts of an orator and actor, he would have transformed the momentary spell of his rule into an effective power. He was now obliged to employ aristocrats practised in war as military leaders without being able to trust them. The Gaetani, John and his brother Nicholas, Count of Fundi, whom the Tribune had accused and placed under the ban as the three-

[1] In the French republic Danton similarly compared himself to Christ.

[2] Cola himself relates this in his letter to Arnest of Prague. Doc., lii., Papencordt.

[3] *Item quod nemo detestabilia nomina Guelfum et Ghibellinum tanti jam pro dolor! Christiani sanguinis estuaria, audeat per totam Italiam nominare . . .* Cola to the Pope, Hobhouse, p. 554.

fold murderer of father, brother, and wife, were still defiant, and it was therefore necessary to reduce them to obedience. Cola fittingly entrusted the war to John Colonna; the Gaetani made submission, and at the beginning of September tendered the oath of vassalage, to break it soon after.[1]

The Tribune knew that the nobility conspired against him, and that machinations to work his overthrow were also in progress at the papal court. He consequently formed the design of seizing the chief conspirators at a blow, and, ignorant of the plot, they fell into the same snare that Don Arrigo and Henry VII. had prepared for their fathers. On September 14, the leading nobles came to a banquet to which they had been invited on the Capitol. On leaving the table, where Stephen Colonna had indulged in some sarcastic remarks on the magnificent robes of the Tribune, the guests (five Orsini and two Colonna) were seized and led to prison.[2] The aged hero Stephen paced the hall in which he was confined throughout the night, knocked at the doors

Cola takes prisoners the Roman barons.

[1] Peter Count of Caserta, nephew of Boniface VIII., married to Maria de Comite.

- Loffred I., Count of Fundi.
 - Nicholas.
 - John.
 - Bellus.
- Benedetto I., Count Palatine.
 - Boniface II.
 - Nicholas.
 - Maria.
 - Mabilia.
- John, a Canon.
- Nicholas, a Canon.
- Nanna, married to Raynald of Supino.

According to Documents in the Colonna Archives, where several parchments belonging to the Gaetani family are found.

[2] Of the Colonna, Stephen and his grandson John; of the Orsini, Raynald, Count Berthold, Jordan del Monte, Ursus, and Cola. The younger Stephen, Jordan Orsini of Marino, and Luca Savelli had not appeared. Cola's letter to Raynald of Liége in Avignon, September 17. Hocsemius, ii. p. 496.

and offered huge sums to the guards, but in vain. Monks came in the morning to prepare the prisoners for death. They all trembled and confessed, except Stephen, who refused to believe in his death at the hands of a plebeian. The bell tolled for the wretched victims. The officers of justice conducted the nobles into a hall draped with red and white. The excited populace awaited the execution of some of the chief nobles of the city, but circumspect burghers prevented Cola from proceeding to extremities. He was himself deterred by the names, the prestige, and the friends of his opponents, and was perhaps as much afraid of his own victims as they of him. The visionary, on whose nod the life of Colonna and Orsini hung, mounted the platform with a whimsical smile, held a discourse on the text, "Forgive us our trespasses," and explained to the assembled people that he had pardoned the repentant barons. They swore to the laws of the republic. Falling from one extreme into another, the Tribune in fear now loaded them with distinctions, appointed them consuls and patricians, gave each of them a banner with ears of corn embroidered in gold and a magnificent robe, invited them to a banquet of reconciliation, and rode in procession with them through the city. On September 17 he took the communion with them at Aracoeli. They went to their palaces or fortresses, all bewildered by fear of death and shame, and longing to avenge themselves on the plebeian who had played such a terrible game at their expense. The prudent were indignant. It was said that the Tribune had lighted a fire which he could not quench.

The treacherous deed excited universal sensation. The Pope, who had long been irritated, was seriously dismayed. From his abode in distant Avignon, Cola's power appeared more formidable than it really was. Clement himself interceded for the pardon of the nobles.[1] Many blamed the Tribune's weakness. And he had indeed shown that nature had not fitted him to play the rôle of a tyrant among tyrants. Ezzelino da Romano, Galeazzo Visconti, Castruccio Castracane would have turned in contempt from a man who had entrapped his enemies into a snare, not in order to take their lives, but merely to inflict dishonour upon them. Petrarch himself, as intoxicated with ideas of freedom as any Jacobin of the French Revolution, would have dedicated an elegy to the fallen heads of the Colonna, but an enthusiastic hymn to Cola, the destroyer of tyrants. Even in 1352 he was unable to understand the mistake which had been committed in allowing armed nobles to escape instead of getting rid of them.[2] The Tribune had not stained himself with blood uselessly shed, but had theatrically played the part of Marius, and made himself hated on one side, despised on the other.[3]

[1] On October 4, 1347, Theiner, ii. n. 177. . . . *Discretionem vram attente roganus, quatenus eos etiam si aliquid forte commiserint, quod eis hac vice petimus gratiose remitti, pro nra. et Ap. Sedis reverentia restituas libertati.* In the same sense the Pope wrote *Concilio ac Pop. Rom.*, and to the *Tredecim super urbis negotiis deputatis*, of the same date.

[2] *—libertatis hostes cum opprimere simul omnes posset, quam facultatem nulli unq. imp. fortuna concesserat, dimisit armatos.* He would at least have rendered them harmless. *Fam.*, xiii. 6.

[3] See his letter to Raynald Orsini, Archdeacon of Liége, at

Darker and darker clouds gathered over him. Even before the news of his *coup* had reached Avignon, the Pope had decided to proceed against him. The title of Tribune, the bath of knighthood, the invitation to the city as to a coronation festival, the tribute collected from the papal territories, further, all the ideas concerning the union and fraternity of Italy and the majesty of the Roman people, roused the anger of Clement VI. As early as August 21 he wrote to Cardinal Bertrand, the legate for Sicily, to go to Rome, if possible.[1] The hostile feeling at Avignon was also revealed in the treatment shown to one of Cola's envoys; he was attacked on the banks of the Durance, his staff was broken, his letters were torn, and he was wounded and forbidden an entrance to the city. The outrage happened at the end of August, when Petrarch, in a letter to the Tribune, expressed his indignation at this insult to the popular rights.[2] The Pope, learning of the events of August 15, and informed by Cola that almost all the cities of the Sabina and the Patrimony, irritated by the oppression of the rectors of the Church, had conferred the signory upon him

The Pope takes proceedings against Cola.

Avignon, in which he perfidiously misrepresents and excuses his conduct.

[1] Theiner, ii. n. 175.

[2] *Ep. sine tit.*, ii. *O Rhodanus rodens omnia, sic Tyberim recognoscitis, sic Romanum Dominum honoratis?—Tu vero res nostras miserere, vir ill., erige surgentem patriam, et gentib. incredulis, quid nunc etiam Roma possit, ostende.* Always confusing the present with the past, he speaks of "our former envoys to Carthage." . . . Cola afterwards declared, in his letter to Raynald Orsini, that only reverence for the Pope prevented him from proceeding against Avignon and its magistrates.

on September 1, commanded the vice-rector of the Patrimony to oppose the usurpations of the Tribune and demand help from the rectors of Spoleto and the Campagna.[1]

Cola's actions were of a nature to make him appear the most dangerous of all revolutionaries in the eyes of his benevolent patron, the Pope. That Clement did not earlier proceed against him was due to the universal admiration that the Tribune evoked, and to the fear of the exalted ideas which had taken hold of the Roman people, also in part to the distance of Avignon. The fulfilment of the Tribune's designs would not only have destroyed the *Dominium Temporale*, but would have overthrown all legal relations between Church and empire. He leaned on no party, was neither Guelf nor Ghibelline, but on the contrary appealed to the Italian nation. He looked away from the German emperor; he required the Pope to make his residence in Rome, and at the same time proclaimed Rome the capital of united Italy, to whom the rest of the republics, "the ancient

[1] Theiner, ii. n. 176, to *Petrus de Pinu*; so also to *Napol. de Tibertis*, Rector of Campania, to *Raimboldus de Montebrione*, Rector of Spoleto, to Cardinal Bertrand. He quotes Cola's letter of September 1, which is not extant: *noverit—paternitatis v. benignitas, quod hodie primo Sept. quasi omnes terre Sabine et de Patrimonio propter injusta gravamina, quae ab officialib. Eccle, quod cum pudore referimus—inferuntur eisd., et ut liberarentur a rabie Tirampnorum —per Sindicos—nobis eor. regimen cum lacrymis supplices commiserunt.* As early as September 15 the Pope commands Cardinal Bertrand to go to Rome, the Consistorium having decreed that it was necessary to send three cardinals immediately to Rome. *Dat. Av. 17. Kal. Oct. A. VI.* (Clem. VI., *Secr. a VI.*, ep. 419); copied for me by Andreas Munch.

children" of the city, were to sacrifice their municipal spirit.[1] He asserted that Rome and the Church were one, as, according to his view, so were the Empire and Rome. He thereby expressed the opinion that the city was the source and essence of the universal monarchy and of the two world powers, and openly protested against the opinion that where the pope was there was the Church.[2] After the example of Lewis the Bavarian, Cola—had he succeeded in attaining to actual power—would have restored the papal election to the Roman people. For the first time the voice of Rome terrified the Pope within the strong walls of Avignon; he now recognised that other matters than the reformation of civic government on democratic lines were discussed on the Tiber, that Rome's antagonism to Avignon was a national principle, and that the exile of the popes gave birth to a movement that threatened the Church with schism and the Papacy with the loss of its historic position in Italy.

A lofty idea was contained in Cola's curious

[1] This sounds quite modern, nevertheless they are Cola's words: *nonne scismatica nomina Gibeline parcialitatis et Guelfe, pro quib. innumerab. millia animar. et corpor. sub pastor. oculis perierunt, delere prorsus inceperam per reductionem civitatis Romane et totius Italie ad unam unanimem, pacificam, sanctam et individuam unionem.* Cola to the Archbishop of Prague, Doc., p. xlvii., Papencordt. This is the cry, "*Italia una!*" which was raised by Cola for the first time. It re-echoed for centuries, until in our own days it filled Italy with feverish enthusiasm, and in 1870 Cola's inspired dream became a reality.

[2] *Universalem Eccl. blasphemare non metuens, praefatam Eccl. civitatemque Rom. idem esse asseruit.* Bull of December 3, 1347, Theiner, ii. n. 185.

dreams, and a logical method in his delusions. As was natural in his time, he sought for the legal foundation for the transformation of Italy in the dogma of the majesty of the Roman Senate and People. After having proclaimed this sovereignty and the unity of Italy in his decree of August 1, and having declared that he held all Italians as free Roman citizens, he resolved to summon the entire country to reconstitute itself in the form of a national Roman empire. According to his scheme all Italians should have the right of electing their emperor by a plebiscite, which was to be exercised in Rome by twenty-four electors appointed by themselves. The emperor to be elected after Whitsuntide of 1348 was to be an Italian patriot; thus the ancient unity of the nation would be restored by a Latin Caesar, Italy rescued from the divisions which tore her asunder, and delivered for ever from the ignominious rule of "unworthy foreigners." Neither was this view far removed from the Guelfs; for they also maintained that the imperial election belonged to the Roman people, and through them to all the communes of Italy, who shared in the right of Roman citizenship and Roman freedom, and that only through the Church, and in the name of the Roman people, was it transferred to the German elector-princes.[1] On September 19 Cola appointed two Doctors of Law, the Knight Paul Vajani of Rome, and Bernard de Possolis, a native of Cremona, as his envoys, and sent them with plenary powers to the cities and lords of Italy, in

Cola's national programme.

[1] M. Villani, iv. c. 72.

order to gain their adhesion to his memorable plan.[1] The gifted Tribune hoped to reach an exalted aim, little thinking that only through the labyrinth of the sins and sufferings of another five hundred years was the way to be prepared for its realisation. He wished to inscribe the new articles of confederation of a free and united Italy on tables of bronze, and, according to ancient custom, to place them in the Capitol, which he fancifully called the "Holy Latin Palace."[2] Among the friends of the Italian nation on whom the imperial election might fall, he undoubtedly thought of himself, and already dreamed of transforming the title of Tribunus Augustus into that of Imperator Augustus. His envoys travelled through Italy; a great thought was propounded to the nation, which was not ready to receive it. It undoubtedly remains the imperishable glory of Cola

[1] Cola's letter to the Florentines, September 19, 1347 (Gaye, p. 402), the best and most noteworthy document of his history. *Omnes —cives civitatum sacre ytalie cives Roman. effecimus, et eos admictimus ad election. Imperii ad sacr. Rom. Pop. rationabiliter devoluti. —Cupimus—antiquam unionem cum omnib. magnatib. et civitatib. sacre ytalie—firmius renovare—ipsam s. Ytaliam—ab omni suo abiectionis discrimine liberare, et in statum pristin. sue antique glorie reducere—Intendimus—aliquem ytalicum quem ad zelum ytalie digne inducat unitas generis et proprietas nationis—feliciter ad imp. promoveri.* He exhorts them *ut commune nostrum et totius ytalie decus—velitis—diligere, et honores proprios occupari—per alios pati nolle, in tantum nefas, tantum obprobium, quantum est proprio privari dominio, et alieno indebite subdere colla jugo, eorum vid., qui sanguinem ytalicum sitiunt — — satis debet nostra et v. precordia pungere, quod Rom. Imp. indigni extranei occupent.—Dat. in Capitolio—die XVIIII. Sept. I. Ind. liberatae, Reipub. A. I.*

[2] Cola had sent to Florence the new Constitution (*ordinationes*) which he had drawn up for Italy. This document, unfortunately, has not been preserved.

de Rienzo that he ventured to express these national ideas in his age; as it remains a reproach to the Italians that at a time when the Papacy was in banishment, and the empire at its lowest ebb, they proved incapable of creating a political nation.

Meanwhile the Pope resolved to proceed against the audacious demagogue. The French cardinals dreaded the return of the papal curia to Rome, if the city became free and powerful. Every prelate shrank from the thought of Italian unity, or the restoration of an Italian empire, which would have endangered the independence of the Papacy. All the cardinals, especially the relations of the Orsini and Colonna, demanded that proceedings should be instituted against Cola, who had already completely thrust aside his colleague in office, the papal vicar Raymond. As early as October 7 the Pope gave the legate Bertrand de Deus, who was then in Naples, power to depose Cola and to appoint new Senators.[1] On October 12 he sent the cardinal a letter, in which he enumerated all Cola's offences, and ordered him to leave the Tribune in office, if he retracted, confined himself to his jurisdiction in the city, and promised obedience to the Church; otherwise, to depose him, and possibly bring a charge of heresy against him. The legate was to fix a period within which the Romans were to renounce Cola under threat of the interdict; he was to distribute money and corn among them, though not in such abundance as to make them arrogant. He was to withhold the Bull of Jubilee, which was,

The Pope brings Cola to trial.

[1] Three letters of October 7, Theiner, ii. n. 179, 180, 181.

however, to be promulgated as soon as the Romans should make submission. The Sabines were to be forbidden to obey Cola, or to form any alliance with Rome. And since some asserted that Cola was already under the ban, Clement had caused duplicates of the letter to him to be drafted, one of which addressed Cola as already excommunicated, the other as still a member of the Church, so that, according to circumstances, the Cardinal could give him one or other. These documents show the serious consternation of the Pope, his fear of the power of the Tribune or of the Romans, his extreme prudence.[1] More than seventy Roman nobles received letters with the request that in any event they would aid the legate.[2]

[1] Theiner, ii. n. 182. Among Cola's offences he mentions: The title of Tribune, the bath of Knighthood, the alliance with Hungary, the proceedings against the nobles and the vicar, the citation of Charles and the princes of the empire, the title *Dux Bavarie* which he had given to Lewis, the attacks on the rights of the Church, the abolition of all existing laws. The despatch of envoys to summon Italy to unity, and to the new imperial election, was not yet known to the Pope. Not until December 3 does he speak of this in his bull to the Romans: *quibusd. civitatib. Italie certas voces in elect. Rom. Imp. obtulit:* and in his letter to Charles IV.: *majori tamen parte vocum hujusm. Rom. Populo reservata* (n. 187).

[2] Ep. 489–563, Clem. VI., *Secr. a. VI.* (copied by Munch). I mention the names as giving a synopsis of the hereditary nobility at that time. *Colonna:* Petrus Agapiti; Petrus and Matheus Jordani; Petrus Jacobi Sciarrae; Franciscus Landulfi; Jacobus Eduardi and Landulfus Bartolomei of Gallicano; Paulus Petri of Olevano; Petrus Stefani of Bellovidere; Stephen and his son John; Johes Matthei and Angelus Oddonis of Tivoli. *Orsini:* Johes and Ursus of Anguillara; Berthold, Robert, Guido, Counts Palatine; Andreas and his son Orso; Jordan and Raynald; Johes, Jordan, and Napoleon, sons of Poncellus; Nicolaus; Matheus Francisci; Orso of Taglia-

Cola, learning of the hostile feeling at Avignon, wrote in detail to Clement VI., enumerated all his services, justified his actions, and lamented that the Pope rewarded him with prosecutions for all the good that he had done, when a courier would have been sufficient to persuade him to retire from his office, had this been required.[1] His enemies meanwhile assembled on all sides, and the Tribune had manfully to defend himself against their attacks.

cozzo; Ricardus Fortisbrachii; Franciscus; Cecco Johis; Johes Ursi. *Anibaldi:* Nicolaus Nicolai of Pietro in Formis; Leo Riccardi of Rocca Preiura (*Priora*); Nicolaus Anibaldi of Molara; Paulus Nicolai Petri; Nicolaus Riccardi of Cave. *Capocci:* Johes Johis; Jacopo and Paulus, sons of Processus. *Savelli:* Franciscus and Lucas. *Conti:* Paulus of Valmontone; Nicolaus Nicolai of Montefortino; Nicolaus Nicolai of Poli. *S. Eustachio:* Johes, son of Theobald.—Johes Nicolaus de Buccamaciis of *Montenigro*, Chancellor. *Stefaneschi:* Franciscus Stefani, Stefan. Ranerii Jacobi Johis Arlotti de Stephanescis.—Angelus *Malabranca*, Chancellor. Guido *de Insula*, Nicolaus and Theodinus *de Branchalconibus*. Andreas and Stephen *de Montanea*. John *Laurentii de S. Alberto*. Stephan. *Normanni de Albertescis*. Fredo *de Parione*. Conradus Philippi *de Antiochia*. Andreas and Franciscus Odonis *de Palumbaria*. The lords of Castra (fortresses) were here called *Dominus* (*Don*), their sons *Domicellus Romanus*. The title *Miles Romanus* is rare, most frequent among the Colonna and Orsini. No Frangipane, Pierleone, or Crescentius appears, nor any Gaetani.

[1] Cola's justifications to the Pope begin as early as August. Hobhouse, p. 552. Then the letter of September 17 (Hocsemius, ii. p. 496) to the Orsini in Avignon, also intended for the Curia. Lastly, the long letter of October 11 to the Pope (Doc., n. 11, in Papencordt).

4. THE ARISTOCRATS BEGIN THE WAR—COLA BESIEGES MARINO—HIS MEETING WITH THE CARDINAL-LEGATE IN ROME—THE NOBLES RESOLVE TO ATTACK ROME FROM PALESTRINA—SANGUINARY DEFEAT OF THE BARONS ON NOVEMBER 20—TRAGIC FALL OF THE HOUSE OF COLONNA—TRIUMPH OF THE TRIBUNE—COLA'S ALTERED CHARACTER—HIS WEAKNESS AND DESPONDENCY—HE MAKES SUBMISSION TO THE CARDINAL — REVOLT IN ROME — COLA RETIRES FROM THE CAPITOL.

Cola's war with the barons of Rome.

The vindictive barons were the first to rise in arms. The two Orsini, in mockery of their oath, had entrenched themselves within Marino and made this fortress the rallying point of the reaction. The Tribune placed them under the ban; he caused Raynald and Jordan to be depicted head downwards as traitors on the Capitol. They answered by scouring the country as far as the gates of Rome, crossed the Tiber, seized Nepi, and laid waste the civic territory. In the course of the winter the Tribune advanced with 20,000 foot soldiers and 800 horse against Marino. The surrounding district was ruthlessly devastated; half the population of Rome lay encamped beside it and engaged in pillage; preparations were made for an assault. Meanwhile, Bertrand de Deus, the legate, arrived in the city, entrusted with full powers, and in the Pope's name summoned Cola to appear before him. The Tribune drowned two hounds, which he had baptised Raynald and Jordan, in the brook at Marino, raised the siege and came to Rome. He immedi-

ately caused the Orsini palace beside S. Celso to be pulled down, and rode with his cavalry to the Vatican. Nothing could be more amusing than the visit of the Tribune to the cardinal. Clad in mail from head to foot, but at the same time wearing the dalmatica embroidered in gold and pearls, which the emperors were accustomed to wear at their coronations, and which he had put on over his armour in the sacristy, he ascended the steps of the palace, gazing fiercely round him, the silver crown of the Tribune on his head, the steel sceptre in his hand, trumpets sounding before him.[1] "Thou hast sent for me," he said to the cardinal; "what dost thou want?" The surprised legate answered, "I have a message from our lord the Pope." "What message?" asked the Tribune, raising his voice. The legate looked at him and was silent. The Tribune contemptuously turned his back, and left the palace with a curious smile, mounted his horse, and returned to Marino. The cardinal remained in Rome, not knowing how to execute the Pope's orders. His understanding with the Orsini and Colonna becoming notorious, he soon fled to Montefiascone, where the rector of the Patrimony made his abode.

Cola invited all his allies to join him in his war against Marino, and demanded aid from Florence.[2] Unfortunately he was not able to take the fortress,

[1] *Terribile e fantastico parea. Vita*, i. c. 32.

[2] Letter to Florence of November 9, Gaye, p. 407. On November 13 the Pope wrote to the cardinal that he heard that Cola was besieging Marino; that he must take measures that the Orsini should not be defeated, or make peace with Cola. Theiner, ii. n. 184.

and the fact gave the Colonna courage to strike a blow against Rome, more especially since the people were exhausted by the hardships of war and losses; and many "cavalerotti," who had not received their pay and were dissatisfied with Cola, were already holding negotiations with the aristocrats. The hoary Stephen, his chivalrous sons and grandsons, and his friends, all assembled in the castle of Palestrina, and collected 4000 men and 600 horse with which they supported the cardinal-legate from Montefiascone. Cola armed himself in haste against these formidable opponents. In conformity with the terms of his alliance, Lewis of Hungary sent him 300 horsemen; the Prefect despatched supplies of corn, and came to the city himself with his son Francesco, with fifteen of the lesser nobles of Tuscany, and 100 cavalry. The suspicious Tribune repeated his treacherous game; he caused the Prefect and his companions to be seized at table and thrown into prison. He divided their horses and weapons among the Romans, excusing his faithlessness before parliament by alleging the treacherous intentions of the prisoners. He was tortured by anxiety and impatience; he could not eat; he lost his sleep.[1] He had or invented fanciful visions. S. Martin, the son of a tribune, appeared in a dream, promising him aid; the spirit of Boniface VIII. told him that he had determined to revenge himself on the Colonnas, his mortal enemies. The

The Colonna assemble in Palestrina.

[1] *Fortemente spaventò, e diventò come fosse infermo e matto. Vita*, i. c. 32. That Cola was mentally diseased is shown by the incoherency of his letters.

ailing Tribune ordered the bells to sound an alarm; he came to the popular assembly in armour, and declared his visions. "The enemy," he said, "is already encamped four miles from the city, at the place called the Monument. This is a sign from heaven; we shall bury them in this monument."[1] It was the morning of November 20; Cola disposed 1000 horse and a large number of infantry in three divisions, under captains of noble birth; for Cola Orsini of S. Angelo, Jordan of Monte Giordano, Angelo Malabranca, Matthew, son of Count Berthold, and several other barons, still remained in the service of the republic, owing to family dissensions or from other reasons. The watch-word given was "Spirito Santo Cavalieri." A sortie was made at daybreak from the gate of S. Lorenzo, against which the attacks of the enemy were directed.

The barons had left the Monument on the 19th–20th of November, and advanced to the monastery of S. Lorenzo. It rained in torrents and the air was cold. Stephen the younger, captain-general of the army, there held a council of war; with him were his son John, Peter, son of Agapitus, lord of Genazzano, Jordan Orsini of Marino, Sciarretta, son of the cele-

[1] *In un loco che si dice Monumento.* A "tenuta" near *Roma Vecchia* (where the *Arco Travertino, Sette Bassi, Statuarium*, and *Testa spaccata* are situated). A Privilegium of Honorius III. for S. Thomas in Formis (A.D. 1217) says: *Turrim qui dicitur Monumentum, ubi dicitur Statuarium.* (*Bullar. Vat.*, i. 100.) The baronial family de Moumento, who had received their name from the place, no longer appears. The Fundus *Statuarium* arose from the ruins of the celebrated Villa of the Quintilii, and took its name from the many statues which were found there.

brated Sciarra, Cola di Buccio, Petruccio Frangipane, and two Gaetani, Counts of Fundi. They could distinctly hear the bells in the city sound an alarm, but could not agree what was to be done. The ex-senator Peter Colonna, formerly a priest and unskilled in arms, was terrified; a dream, in which he had seen his wife in widow's dress, depressed him.[1] He counselled a retreat to Palestrina; the other Colonnas opposed it. Since some "Cavalerotti" in Rome had promised to open the gate, Stephen rode thither, accompanied by a single page. He appealed to the guard to admit him. "I am," he said, "a Roman citizen, and a friend of the republic; I want to return to my house." The guards had been changed during the night. As a proof that the door would not be opened, the captain threw the keys down into the street. The barons, recognising that they had been deceived, resolved to risk nothing, but to march up to the gate with drums playing and then beat an honourable retreat to Palestrina. Two battalions did so. But when the third, which numbered the most celebrated knights, was about to follow, the eight barons who approached saw the gate opened. The Romans had in fact arrived, and had forced it open from inside in order to rush forth. John Colonna, Stephen's grandson, a fine youth of twenty, believing that the conspirators had opened the gate, with foolhardy courage rushed in, accompanied by only one German knight. The Roman cavalry wheeled round at the sight of the

Defeat and destruction of the Roman barons, Nov. 20, 1347.

[1] He married Francesca (Anibaldi), daughter of Thomas of Ceccano, in 1338. De Sade, ii. 396.

young hero; seeing, however, that he was not followed, they turned upon him. The unfortunate boy hastened to reach the gate, but fell with his horse into a pit.

Outside, Stephen was searching for his son; fearing the worst, he too rode through the open gate. The sun had risen; the noble youth lay in a pool of water dyed with blood, surrounded by the frantic populace, who were murdering him. Silently the father rode back, returned, was struck by a stone, thrown from his horse, and killed instantaneously. Thus father and son, the pride of their house and of the entire Roman knighthood, lay dead and only separated from each other by the city wall. Their fall roused the barons to fury; they attacked the gate, out of which rushed the equally infuriated Romans. Cola's banner sank; he cried in fear: "God! hast Thou deserted me?" The Romans, however triumphed, and their opponents were repulsed. Peter Colonna, a corpulent man, fled to a vineyard near the gate; he begged for his life, but the ex-senator was cut down, like his cousin Peter, Baron of Belvedere. The aristocrats dispersed in terrified flight. Jordan Orsini, mortally wounded, reached the castle of Marino with one of the Counts of Fundi; others escaped to Palestrina. The naked bodies of more than eighty great nobles, formerly the dreaded oppressors of the people, remained exposed to the ferocious insults of the mob until the afternoon. This is the black day of the Fabii in the history of the civic nobility of the Middle Ages. They never recovered; and the power of the great



families, who had so long ruled the republic, was broken for ever on November 20, 1347.[1]

Triumph of Cola on the Capitol.

The Tribune, who had shivered in mortal terror at the first glint of arms, now crowned himself with a wreath of olive, caused the trumpets to be sounded, and led his troops in triumph to the Capitol, where the prisoners were placed in confinement. He appeared before the assembled crowd, wiped, like a comedian, his bloodless sword upon his dress, restored it to its sheath, and said, "Thou hast struck the ear from a head which neither emperor nor pope was able to cut off." He wrote fantastic accounts of his victory, which were borne by envoys with branches of olive to the cities of Italy. The whole of Rome was intoxicated with horror and wild joy. In the evening the three dead Colonna, Stephen, John, and Peter, were brought to the family chapel in Aracoeli. Their noble widows forced their way into the church, followed by women mourners with torn garments and dishevelled hair, to throw themselves on the beloved

[1] The most trustworthy account is that of the eye-witness, *Vita*, i. 32. Villani, the Chron. of Pistoja, Modena, Este, Siena, Bologna, and *Histor. Cortus.*, ix. 12, differ. Further, Cola's letter to Raynald Orsini of November 20 (Hocsemius, p. 506): *Haec est dies, quam fecit Dom. . . . Dat. in Capitolio die victorioso pred., XX. Nov. in quo sex de tyrannis Columnensib. perierunt, superstite infel. sene D. Stephano de Columna semimortuo; ecce septimus; et sic septem coronis et pomo, quae in coronatione pro septem donor. S. Spiritus memoria suscepimus, aequatus est numerus occisor.* Of the same date is the letter to Florence (Archives, *Reform.*, xvi. 94); of like tenor, with the addition of the names of four Colonna (Stephen, John, Peter Agapiti, Peter *ex dominis belvedere*), and of those already imprisoned in the Capitol. Papencordt is mistaken in saying that the aged Stephen had taken part in the battle. Among the fallen were a Frangipani and some lords of Lugano, Cave, and Molara (Anibaldi).

dead.[1] The insane Tribune ordered them to be driven away. "If these three accursed corpses irritate me further," he said, "I will have them thrown into the ditch of the hanged, to which as traitors they belong." They were removed at night to S. Silvestro in Capite, where the house of Colonna had founded a convent for its daughters, and were buried here by pious women without any funeral lament.

Stephen Colonna and his sons.

The fate of the aged Stephen was profoundly tragic, and his composure worthy of an ancient Roman. When the messenger of misfortune entered the castle of Palestrina and informed him that his eldest son, his valiant grandson, and his nephews were all dead, the proud aristocrat looked silently on the ground, and calmly said, "The will of the Lord be done; it is undoubtedly better to die than to endure the yoke of a boor."[2] The praise which Petrarch bestowed on this Roman, that he was a phoenix, who had risen from the ashes of ancient heroes, may not be entirely exaggerated. Four years before, the poet had visited Stephen in Rome, and had drawn a picture of his character. "Great God! what majesty is in this old man! What a voice, what a brow and countenance, what manner, what energy of mind and strength of body at such an age! I seem to see Julius Caesar or Scipio Africanus before me, only that he is much older than

[1] *Per ululare di sopra li morti* (*Vita*, i. c. 35), to raise the lament for the dead (*ballata*) beside the bier. Concerning these laments for the dead the reader will find a chapter on the subject in my *Corsica*.

[2] Petrarca, *Rer. Senil.*, ix. Ep. iv.: *ad extremum dixit: fiat voluntas Dei: et certe satius est mori, quam unius rustici jugum pati.*

either; nevertheless, he is scarcely altered since I saw him in Rome for the second time seven years ago, or since I first met him at Avignon twelve years back."[1] The noble veteran had foretold his destiny to Petrarch; he outlived his children, for Cardinal John died a year after the fatal day. It happened that Petrarch left Avignon to return to Italy on the same 20th of November on which his friend and benefactor met with his overthrow. He heard the news with dismay, and shed tears; but his conduct proved the truth of his earlier assertion, namely, that Rome and Italy were dearer to him than the Colonna family, which he loved more than any other in the world.[2] He could now reproach the Tribune for the same reason as Maharbal had reproached Hannibal. Instead of appearing at Marino and Palestrina immediately after his victory, Cola wasted the time in pompous spectacles and triumphal processions. The day after the battle he led his son Lorenzo outside the gate of the same name, and to the spot

[1] *Famil.*, v. Ep. 3, to Cardinal John. Petrarch holds him alone worthy to appear beside King Robert in the Triumph of Fame.

Il buon rè Sicilian; ch' in alto intese
E lunge vide, e fù veramente Argo;
Da l'altra parte il mio gran Colonnese;
Magnanimo, gentil, constante e largo.

[2] Great was the conflict in Petrarch's mind, artificial and unreal as his temperament was. His later letter of consolation to Cardinal John (*Fam.*, vii. 13) is heartless. Not until after John's death (he died of the plague at Avignon on July 3, 1348) did he write a letter of condolence (on September 12) to the aged Stephen (viii. 1). A Seneca in the garb of an abbot. *Complément de condoléance*, says the French Abbé de Sade.

where the heroic Colonna had fallen, and from the pool of blood which still remained, baptised him as "Knight Lorenzo of the Victory," and obliged the captains of cavalry to give him the stroke of knighthood. The brutal deed rendered the Tribune contemptible. The knights refused to serve him any longer; illustrious men deserted his hitherto magnificent court; he surrounded himself with depraved creatures. Incapable of enduring prosperity, the man of the people developed into a self-indulgent tyrant. The report of the altered character of the liberator of Rome had become known even before November 20. Petrarch wrote him letters from Genoa, bewailing the change and lamenting the ruin of his genius.[1] His belief in the permanence of freedom was, however, still unshaken in September. When he then heard that the Hungarians were besieging Sulmona, he wrote excitedly to Barbatus, mourned the incursion of the barbarians into Ovid's native city, but fixed his hopes on the Roman people and the magnanimous Tribune, to whose protection he recommended his friend.[2] In November, he could only weep tears of disillusion for the fate of disfigured

[1] *Fam.*, vii. 7. Genoa, November 29, when he had not yet heard of the fall of the Colonna . . . *facilis descensus Averni.—Ubi nunc ille tuus salutaris genius, ubi—ille bonor. oper. consultor spiritus, cum quo assidue colloqui putabaris? Tu quoque longum vale, Roma, si haec vera sunt. Indos ego potius aut Garamantos petam.* On November 22 he had written to Lelius (vii. Ep. 5) that he had read the copy of a letter of the Tribune's with surprise. He despaired of Rome and Italy. He had nothing left *praeter lacrimas.*

[2] *Fam.*, vii. Ep. 1. *III. Id. Septbris.: sed absit ut Italiae metuam, a qua rebelles potius quod metuant habebunt, dum nuper urbi reddita potestas tribunicia vigebit, et caput nostrum Roma non aegrotabit.*



Italy, and for Rome's return to her former state of misery. He began to be ashamed of his own lyric enthusiasm.

Cola's unmanly demeanour.

Cola feasted and extorted money; in order to pay his troops he raised the tax on salt. The people murmured; he scarcely ventured to reassemble them. His victory over the Colonna was the zenith of his fortune, but not of his power. He soon fell from intoxication into the extreme of weakness. The Orsini scoured the Campagna immediately outside Rome and caused famine in the city. Luca Savelli and Sciarretta Colonna placed themselves at the head of the aristocrats in alliance with the cardinal, who from Montefiascone cried for aid to the cities of Umbria and Tuscany. Threatened by the legate with the ban, excommunication, and trial for heresy, the Tribune lost courage. He again took the papal vicar as his colleague in office, and professed his subjection to the Pope. And since one of the heaviest accusations against him was the homage which he had received from the Sabina, he wrote to the communes of that district on December 2, announcing that he resigned the office of podestà which they conferred upon him, recalled his representatives, and left the cardinal to adjust their relations with the Church. For the rest, they were not to be afraid; he would not abandon them in case of need, but only wished to make peace with the Church.[1] In this letter Cola already calls himself

[1] Despatch to the Communes, *Tarani*, *Turrium* (*Torre*), *Asprae*, *Collisveteris*, *Stimigliani*, *S. Poli territorii de Sabina*. *Dat. in Capitolio II. Dec. I. Ind.*, with the simple title *Trib. Augustus*. I

simply *Tribunus Augustus;* he even determines to be known only as rector of the Pope; he revokes all his decrees concerning the imperial majesty of Rome, also the citation to the princes of the empire. In order to remove the suspicion that he intended with the aid of Lewis of Hungary to make himself tyrant, with the co-operation of the papal vicar he caused thirty-nine popolani to be elected as an advisory council on December 7. But the reluctance of this popular council to consent to a tax on salt, and the election of a military captain, was already a bad sign.[1] The quarrel which arose between Cola and some of the representatives resulted in the entire council being banished by the people, and this showed Cola that he had not entirely lost favour.[2] The Romans would no longer submit to the papal rule. When Cola told them that he would govern the city according to the terms of the cardinal-legate, they impatiently demanded to hear the articles; but Cola refused their request. The vicar found himself in danger; he escaped to Montefiascone on December 11, heaping denunciations on the hypocrite Cola and the obstinate Romans. Thus was Cola again sole regent. He now hoped to gain over the people, even to be reconciled with the aristocrats. With a view to this he released the Prefect from prison. But his prestige was already so deeply under-

copied the original, which, written in Cola's own hand, is in the Archives of Aspra. It has been already published in *Bibl. Italiana*, Milan, xi. 338.

[1] Polistore, Mur., xxiv. p. 803.

[2] *Chron. Estense*, Mur., xv. p. 445.

mined that the lightest shock must throw it to the ground.

On December 3 the Pope issued a violent bull against the Roman people, stigmatising Cola as a criminal, a pagan, and a heretic, and exhorting the Romans to thrust him from among them. Among the crimes with which the Tribune was charged was that of wishing to overthrow the Church and empire, for he had asked the cities of Italy to vote for a fresh imperial election. He was further accused of having in his delusion aimed at the imperial crown, untroubled by the danger to which he exposed the Romans, upon whom he thus invoked the wrath of all Germans and of the Church. He had imprisoned priests, had usurped the rights of the Church, had by his edicts commanded all Roman prelates to return to the city, and had even presumed to declare that Rome and the Church were one.[1] But Cola had fallen even before the bull reached Rome. The approaching Jubilee was in sight of the greedy Romans; the Pope might deprive them of it, and they had to choose between freedom, which only exacted sacrifices, and subjection, which promised abundance. The growing peril diminished Cola's courage day by day; he was terrified by gloomy dreams of the fall of the Capitol; the hooting of an owl, which was heard in the ruins, and refused to be

His power declines.

1 Bull *Quamvis de universorum*, Theiner, ii. n. 185. Similar is the letter of the Pope to Charles IV., February 5, 1348 (*Ibid.*, n. 187). Nevertheless, as early as December 7, he had exhorted Charles to induce Lewis of Hungary not to support the Tribune. See Pelzel, *Kaiser Karl IV. Urkundenbuch*, i. n. 208.

driven away, roused his fear and horror. He suffered from giddiness, and frequently fainted. An accident expelled him from the Capitol.

By the terms of his treaty, Lewis of Hungary was permitted to raise cavalry in Rome. A Neapolitan baron, notorious for his crimes, John Pipin, Count of Minorbino, was in the city with his brothers acting as recruiting officers.[1] Cola, who had already cited him before his tribunal on account of his robberies, detested him, but was now obliged to tolerate him out of regard for the King of Hungary. The count joined Luca Savelli in a conspiracy to which the cardinal-legate was not a stranger. The bailiffs of the Tribune attempted to post a citation against Savelli on the doors of the church of S. Angelo. The Neapolitans prevented them. Thereupon Cola summoned the Count of Minorbino before his tribunal. Pipin barricaded himself near the church of S. Salvator in Pensilis in the Circus Flaminius. He ordered the bells of S. Angelo to be rung, and raised the cry, "The People! The People! Death to the Tribune." At the summons of the bell of the Capitol only five companies rallied round Cola; the populace and the Orsini belonging to his party remained away. He sent a German captain against the barricade erected by the rebels; the captain fell. The Tribune believed that all was lost. The liberator of Italy trembled before a few Hungarian lances. His

[1] The brothers were John Pipin Count of Minorbino and Paladin of Altamura, Lodovico Count of Potenza, and Peter Count of Nocera and Vico, grandsons of a notary of Barletta, who had risen to fortune under Charles I. De Sade, ii. 149.

diseased imagination beheld the entire city in revolt, although so far was this from being true that had he acted with prompt resolution he might easily have quelled the rebels. His heart failed him; he no longer possessed the courage of a child; he could scarcely speak. He renounced the insignia of his Tribunate; he laid the silver wreath and the steel sceptre as votive offerings on the altar of the Virgin in Aracoeli. He took leave of his friends, lamenting that, after a good reign of seven months on the Capitol, he was obliged to abdicate, driven away by the jealousy of the wicked. He wept; the bystanders, those who saw him descend, the populace, the better citizens wept. But no one held him back. With drums beating, banners waving, accompanied by armed men, the Tribune of the people descended from the Capitol, and withdrew to the Castle of S. Angelo, where he shut himself up.[1] The whole of Rome was in consternation. A beautiful dream had faded into nothing, after only seven months of such exaltation as the city had not experienced for long years. It was December 15, 1347, when the rule of Cola di Rienzo reached its noiseless end. The Tribune of the people had given the Romans, sunk in their deep abasement, a classical carnival spectacle, had displayed the splendour of the ancient world in a magnificent triumphal procession before their eyes. Now came disillusion, and with it reality in the prosaic form of the restoration of the vindictive nobility returning to their homes.[2]

Cola di Rienzo abdicates, Dec. 15, 1347.

[1] Cola's wife fled from the Lalli Palace in the dress of a Minorite.

[2] *Vita*, i. c. 38. Eight years afterwards the robber Count of

CHAPTER VII.

1. RESTORATION OF THE PAPAL GOVERNMENT AND OF THE NOBILITY—COLA IN S. ANGELO, A FUGITIVE UNDER THE BAN—DUKE WERNER'S COMPANY—DESTRUCTION OF ANAGNI — ANARCHY IN ROME—THE BLACK DEATH—THE YEAR OF THE JUBILEE, 1350 — CARDINAL ANIBALDO—PILGRIMAGES—DESOLATE CONDITION OF THE CITY—LEWIS OF HUNGARY —PETRARCH IN ROME.

THE Tribune's retirement was so little expected by the aristocrats that not until three days had elapsed did they venture into the city, now without a head. That he sought no vengeance on his enemies does honour to the heroic spirit of the aged Colonna; Cola's civic institutions were allowed to stand, his relatives suffered no persecution, S. Angelo, where he remained under the protection of the Orsini, was not attacked.[1] Immediately afterwards, Bertrand de

Minorbino was hanged at Altamura, with a paper cap on his head, on which was written: *messere Gianni Pipino cavaliere, di Altamura Paladino, Conte di Minorbino, Signore di Bari, liberatore del popolo di Roma.—Ibid.* Villani, xii. c. 105, has a different account, that Pipin barricaded himself near S. Apostoli, and raised a revolt with the Colonna. According to *Chr. Sanese*, Mur., xv. p. 121, the revolt began on December 13. It is improbable that the aged Stephen took part in it.

[1] Cola himself says of Stephen: *causam populi per me defensam contestatus est in publico, et filiorum furias reprobans mortuorum, per*

Deus made his entry into the city, of which he took possession in the name of the Church. He revoked all the decrees of the Tribune, restored the ancient forms of government, and made Berthold Orsini and Luca Savelli Senators.[1] Luca represented the party of the Colonna, since Stephen no longer undertook the burthen of the Senatorship. The old man, crushed by misfortune, stood beside the grave of his son and grandson. Of his honoured race, scarcely any remained but Stefanello, son of the slain Stephen. He himself disappears from the history of the city, in which for more than half a century he had played so prominent a part. He died probably in the year 1348.[2]

Berthold Orsini and Luca Savelli, Senators, 1347.

After the legate had set in order the civic government, he returned to Montefiascone, cited Cola as a heretic and rebel before his tribunal, and placed him under the ban. The Tribune's most zealous adherents, such as Cecco Mancini, his chancellor, were involved in the same suit. But the sudden restoration of the papal authority was not sufficient to tranquillise the excited city, where democratic passions flowed in strong currents, where Cola's

Restoration of the papal power in Rome.

pacis osculum socero meo patenter exhibitum, omnem meam familiam, meque si afforem securavit. This, however, appears incredible. (*Ad Guidonem—Cardinalem oratio*, Petrar., *Opp.*, p. 1125.)

[1] They ratify the Statute of the Merchants as Senators and Captains on February 16, 1348.

[2] On August 15, 1350, Cola calls him *quond. Stephanus* (Doc., p. lviii., in Papencordt). Stefanello, while still a child, received a canonry. On account of his father's and brother's deaths (Nov. 20, 1347), he married, had three children, and continued the line of Palestrina. Coppi, "Dissert. della Pontif.," *Accad. Rom. di Archeol.*, xv. 281.

friends were still numerous, and where only a few miserable remains of the nobility reappeared. Soon after his fall the ex-Tribune had gone to Civita Vecchia, the citadel of which was still commanded by his nephew Count Mancini; but when the count deserted to the legate, Cola again retired to S. Angelo. It was scarcely known where he was. The new Senators had him depicted head downwards on the Capitol; he replied in his accustomed manner from his hiding-place. One day a painting was discovered on the church of S. Maddalena near S. Angelo, representing an angel treading serpents, dragons, and lions under foot. But the allegory no longer took effect. Cola recognised that his time was over for the present; he dreaded the artifices of the Orsini, who contemplated surrendering him to Avignon upon favourable conditions, as Count Fazio of Pisa had sold the anti-pope to John XXII. On learning that the King of Hungary had victoriously entered Naples on January 24, he escaped from Rome in the beginning of March, and amid many dangers made his way to the Kingdom, where he hoped to find protection with his allies. The Pope immediately demanded the surrender of the fugitive from King Lewis.[1] But Cola's fortunes and place of abode were known only to report. It was said that he desired to return to Rome with Hungarian troops, and that he had placed himself in alliance with the Great Company.

Cola escapes to Naples, March 1348.

[1] On May 7, 1348, through Cardinal Bertrand: *Nicolaum—capi faciat et captum ad nos vel ad te mittere studeat, pro suis demeritis recepturum.* Raynald, n. x.

This dreaded horde of mercenaries was commanded by Werner of Uerslingen, grandson of the Duke of Spoleto, and had long been the scourge of the Italian provinces. After having entered the service of Lewis of Hungary, and been dismissed from it in Naples, Werner had formed a company of 3000 men, German soldiers and other adventurers, and had undertaken a raid into Latium. The citizens of Anagni slew his envoys, who, with insolent effrontery, had demanded blackmail. Werner forthwith appeared before the ill-fated home of Boniface VIII., stormed its walls, slaughtered its inhabitants, sacked and burnt the city.[1] This crime inaugurates the terrible period of the errant companies of mercenaries without fatherland and without religion; for their home was the temporary camp, their divinity Fortune, and their law the sword. The utterly disorganised kingdom of Naples, which had swarmed with brigands since ancient times, was the nursery of these predatory condottieri. In Naples were educated all the German mercenary leaders of renown, Werner, Conrad Wolf, the Count of Landau, Count Sprech, and Bongarden.[2] The massacre at Anagni might now show the Italians

Werner's mercenaries.

[1] *Chron. di Bol.*, Mur., xviii. 411. Probably in the summer of 1348. Anagni fell so low that Count Honoratus of Fundi made himself lord of the place in 1358. Deed of September 21, 1358. *Gaetani Archives*, xliii. 31.

[2] Brigands are found in Naples in every age. M. Villani (l. c. 16) says of Lewis of Hungary: *avea spente le brigate de' paesani, delle quali per antica consuetudine soleano grandi congregazioni di ladroni fare.* In 1349, Landau, Lupo, Werner, Monreale, and John Ornich seized Aversa, and divided 500,000 gold florins as booty among them (i. c. 50).

that the ideas of the fugitive Tribune had been great and patriotic; for the national confederation, which he had striven to organise, would have prevented the incursion of foreign mercenaries. Rome now trembled before Duke Werner. Had the terrible leader made himself master of the city, he would probably have fulfilled the impious motto inscribed on his coat of arms: "I am Duke Werner, leader of the Great Company, the enemy of God, of pity, and of mercy." But the city was this time spared the disgrace of falling into the hands of a band of mercenaries, for Werner left Latium. The Roman militia barred his way through Tuscany, and the cities here formed the first league against this company, a league which soon after entered the service of the Church.

The hopes which Cola placed on the King of Hungary were vain. Rome had no value for Lewis; and four months after his entry into Naples he returned to his native land, in fear of the pestilence which raged in Southern Italy. The ex-Tribune, wandering in the Abruzzi, was pursued by the excommunications of the Church. The Pope commanded his legate to form an alliance with Perugia, Florence, and Siena, to frustrate Cola's plans for return. On the recall of Bertrand at the end of 1348, the new Cardinal-legate Anibaldo, a member of the family of the Counts of Ceccano, ratified all the sentences issued against him, and placed him as a heretic under the ban. The unlucky fugitive, however, cherished one satisfaction; this was the state of wild anarchy to which the city had reverted,

Anarchy in Rome.

after having enjoyed peace and order under his government. Disunion prevailed among both people and nobility; family wars both within and without; robbery and crime in every street. The new Senators having proved incapable, the Pope commanded a non-Roman to be made Senator. Whether he was obeyed or not is uncertain, for so great was the confusion that prevailed after Cola's flight that events in the city are veiled in obscurity for upwards of a year.[1] The year 1348 was undoubtedly terrible, owing to the Black Death which devastated the West with unprecedented violence. All contemporary chroniclers have described this plague, and Boccaccio has immortalised its memory in the introduction to his novels. It had been brought to Italy in the usual way from the East by Genoese vessels in the autumn of 1347, and no precautions having been taken against it, its devastations were unbounded. More than 80,000 died in Siena and its territory; 500 fell daily at Pisa; in Florence three out of five, in Bologna two-thirds of the population were buried. The consequences were a complete revolution in the relations of property in all such places as had been depopulated by the plague, a rise in prices and wages, a deep-rooted distress, endless quarrels about property, immorality and debauchery, and a sudden revolution in the forms of life. The loosening of the

The Black Death.

[1] The historians of the Senate assume that Otto of Milan was Senator in the second half of 1348, but they are only supported in this belief by later and uncritical authors. I cannot discover this Otto in any document; nor is he mentioned in the official register in the Capitol.

hitherto recognised bonds of society had a disastrous effect on the civic spirit in the republics, and the pestilence of 1348 weakened these bonds perhaps even more than the tyranny and brigandage of which it was the ally.[1]

The silence of chroniclers shows that Rome suffered less than other cities. Nevertheless, she did not entirely escape, and the flight of marble steps to Aracoeli, erected in October 1348, still serves as a monument of the plague. It was destined to convey believers to the church where the image of the Virgin was preserved, to which the Romans ascribed their immunity from the pestilence, now as in previous centuries. Repeated earthquakes increased the indescribable misery in many cities of Italy.

Earthquake in Rome, Sept. 1348.

On September 9 and 10, Rome was so violently shaken that the inhabitants forsook their houses and dwelt in tents for weeks. The basilica of the Twelve Apostles collapsed; the gable of the Lateran fell; S. Paul's was transformed into a heap of ruins; the upper half of the celebrated Torre delle Milizie was overthrown; the Torre dei Conti suffered grievous injury; and the Colosseum, like other ancient buildings, cannot have escaped.[2]

[1] Read the account of the chronicler of Siena (Mur., xv. 120), who buried his five children with his own hand. The plague (*pestis inguinaria*) returned again in 1364, 1374, 1383, 1393, 1403.

[2] *Annal. Rebdorff.*, p. 446; Mat. Villani, i. c. 45. Naples, Aversa, Sora, Monte Casino, S. Germano were seriously injured; Aquila fell to ruin. Concerning the earthquake in Rome, see Petrarch, *Fam.*, xi. Ep. 7, in the Codex of the Angelica in Rome. *Cecidit edificiorum veterum neglecta civibus, stupenda peregrinis moles.*

All these horrors terrified the people and increased their longing for the indulgences of the Jubilee, which appeared to their clouded fancy as the purification of the world from demoniacal influences. As compensation for the pompous spectacle of the temporal sovereignty of the Eternal City, which had just been presented by the Tribune to the Romans, the Pope now offered them the spectacle of the western pilgrimage, and this brought the greatness of the Church again before their eyes, while by real advantages it consoled them for the vanity of their dreams. Indeed, after Cola's fall no better method of securing Rome remained to the Pope. And since the throng of pilgrims demanded a firm government, safety of transit, and abundance of provisions, he appointed Gerald de Ventodur from Limoges, Lord of Denzenat, to be Senator extraordinary for the entire year.[1] He also entrusted Anibaldo of Ceccano

[1] Senators in 1349: *Nicolo de Zancato*, Knight of Anagni, and *Guido Francisci*, Count Palatine, perhaps an Orsini. They ratify the Statute of the Merchants on July 10. The formula is again signed by *Egidius Angelerii*, previously Cola's notary, but still left in office. For the appointment of *Gerald. de Ventodoro, Dom. de Denzenato*, see Theiner, ii. n. 193. The historian of the Senate and the Capitoline register do not mention him; nor is he found in the Statute of Merchants. If he really went to Rome, he was not at any rate a year in office; for as early as July 31, 1350, Peter Colonna Jordani and Johes Orsini held the government. (Statute of the Merchants.) The formula is signed by *Sabba de Fuscis de Berta* (an ancient and probably German family, which produced many notaries). A gravestone of *sacc.* xiv. with . . . *Fuscis de Berta* in *S. Pietro in Montorio*. The oldest mention of the Berta with which I am acquainted is found among the *Consiliarii* of the year 1188 (vol. iv.). There was a *contrada de' Foschi de Berta* by the Forum of Trajan: Adinolfi, *Roma nell' età di mezzo*, ii. 27.

and Guido of Boulogne-sur-Mer with full powers as cardinals of the Jubilee.[1]

The Jubilee Year, 1350.

From Christmas of 1349 onwards the roads of Italy were thronged with bands of pilgrims. Entire parties frequently bivouacked round fires during the frosts of night. If the statement of Matthew Villani, that the number of pilgrims in Rome during Lent amounted to 1,200,000, appears incredible, the more moderate estimate of 5000 persons who daily entered and left the city must approach the truth.[2] Rome itself was one huge inn, and every householder a host. As always, there was a dearth of hay, straw, wood, fish, and vegetables, but more than abundance of meat. Complaints were made of the avarice of the Romans, who prohibited the importation of wine and corn in order to raise the prices. The impoverished city was again enriched for several years by the money of the West.[3]

Among the pilgrims there were probably many who had visited Rome during the Jubilee of 1300. They could now survey the changes which half a century had wrought. They had on the previous

[1] Bull of Jubilee, *Unigenitus Dei*, of January 27, 1342, published in August 1349 (Raynald, n. xi.). Another, *Cum natura humana*, was circulated, in which the Pope commands the angels to receive the souls of the dead pilgrims into Paradise. Baluzius, Note i. 915, rejects it as spurious, as S. Antonino had previously done. To the pilgrimage churches of Rome in 1300 (S. Peter and S. Paul) Clement VI. added the Lateran.

[2] *Vita Clementis VI.*, Baluz., p. 316.

[3] Mat. Villani (i. c. 56) gives the prices at the time: stabling for one horse, 1 to 2 Tornesi grossi a day; a loaf of bread of 12 to 18 ounces, 12 denari; a pintello of wine, 3 to 5 soldi; a rubbio of oats as much as 5 lire. The florin at that time was worth 40 soldi.

occasion seen the last great pope of the all-ruling Church and received his blessing from the loggia of the Lateran. There was now no longer any pope in Rome; the sacred chair had already stood in a corner of France for nearly fifty years; and the chief person being absent, the festival of expiation was incomplete. When the pilgrims made their way to the three great basilicas—a journey of eleven miles—they must have been appalled to find them in ruins. S. Peter's was abandoned and utterly neglected; S. Paul's had been destroyed by the recent earthquake; the Lateran was tottering; the deserted streets were filled with innumerable traces of the civil war; ruinous palaces, overthrown towers, decayed monuments ravished of their marbles. Death-like silence reigned on the hills, where stood churches crumbling away with age, roofless and without priests, and deserted convents where goats pastured in the grass-grown courts. "The houses are overthrown, the walls come to the ground, the temples fall, the sanctuaries perish, the laws are trodden underfoot. The Lateran lies on the ground, and the Mother of all the churches stands without a roof and exposed to wind and rain. The holy dwellings of S. Peter and S. Paul totter, and what was lately the temple of the Apostles is a shapeless heap of ruins to excite pity in hearts of stone." Thus Petrarch exclaimed when he visited the city in the autumn of 1350.[1] The spider wove its web over ruined Rome as in the days of S. Jerome.

Terrible state of decay in Rome.

One solace, however, remained to the pilgrims—

[1] *De Reb. Senil.*, vii. 1.

that all the places which had been hallowed by legend and all the relics honoured in the West still survived.[1] Of these none was more celebrated than the Handkerchief of Veronica. Chroniclers are silent concerning the formerly world-renowned likeness of the Saviour in the Lateran. They observe, however, that the handkerchief (*il santo Sudario*) was shown in S. Peter's every Sunday and festival; and that the throng was so great that people were sometimes suffocated at the exhibition.[2] Although no mention is made of priests who raked up money in S. Paul's or S. Peter's, yet lavish offerings were received, one part of which was allotted to the churches, another to the Pope, who devoted it to collecting soldiers for his war in the Romagna.

Anibaldo, Cardinal of the Jubilee.

Anibaldo, as cardinal of the Jubilee, sat in the Vatican with a swarm of prelates and secretaries who had set up their offices there. It is difficult to realise the throng of people seeking absolution, and to imagine the activity required for the production of indulgences on so vast a scale. Suppliants of every nation and degree assailed the Vatican at all hours, thousands seeking remission from the ban. The cardinal was the most important person in

[1] Petrarch enumerates the celebrated sanctuaries and relics; his list resembles the registers in the ancient books of the pilgrims. *Rer. Fam.*, ix. 13, Padua, February 15. Cod. in the Angelica.

[2] *Annal. Rebdorff.*, Freher, i. 440; M. Villani, i. c. 5, 6. In *saec.* xv. the Sudarium was kept in an iron chest in S. Spirito. Six noble families possessed keys of this chest: Capo di Ferro, Tartari, Mercatanti, Ricci, Tosetti, and Stefaneschi. When the relics were exposed, they were guarded by twenty armed men. Castallus Metallinus, *de Nob. Rom. Mscr. Vat. Ottob.*, 2570.

Rome. He appointed and deposed officials, sold, promised and refused remission of sins, and by his high-handed demeanour offended the Romans, who were still intoxicated with freedom and wanton with excess. They jeered at the origin of the squinting prelate, who was descended from a Campagna family, and even now the foremost country nobility are looked down upon in Rome.[1] The adherents of the ex-Tribune provoked disturbances. A camel, which the cardinal kept in a court of the Vatican, was the puerile cause of an attack on the palace by the mob. The offended legate exclaimed that the Pope could never be ruler in Rome, scarcely even high priest. He reduced the time of pilgrimage to a week, and this increased the irritation. The second legate left the city in May, frightened by the uncontrolled savagery of the Romans. "In order to procure peace in Rome," said Cardinal Guido, "the whole city must be pulled down and then rebuilt." The legate Anibaldo remained in terror and hesitation, threatened with death by the Romans. The sight of a cardinal-vicar returning from his pilgrimage pale with terror, his red hat pierced by the arrow of an assassin, better depicts the state of Rome than the longest account given by a historian. As Anibaldo made his way one day in procession to S. Paul's he was shot at from a window beside S.

[1] The cardinal belonged to the house of Anibaldi-Ceccano, was a friend of Queen Joanna, and had been legate in Naples in 1347. In recompense Joanna's husband, King Lewis, had given the fiefs of Adenolf of Aquino, who had no heir, to Thomas of Ceccano, the cardinal's brother, on October 1, 1349. Deed from Naples, Colonna Archives, *Privil.*, Arm. i., fascic. i. n. 32.

Lorenzo in Piscibus. His followers rushed into the house, but only found the weapon, not the enemy. Henceforth the cardinal scarcely ventured into the streets and only with a helmet under his hat and a coat of mail below his habit. He ordered all suspected persons to be imprisoned and tortured. He issued a fresh sentence of outlawry against Cola and his adherents, to whom he attributed the crime, and laid Rome under the interdict for eight days. In July he left the city to repair as legate to Naples, but died on the way, poisoned, it was said, in wine.[1]

Rome now remained under the spiritual rule of the vicar, Ponzio Perotti of Orvieto, and the secular government of the Senators Peter Colonna of Genazzano and John Orsini.[2]

Peter Colonna and John Orsini, Senators, 1350.

In the autumn the pilgrimages increased. Many illustrious men and women came, and King Lewis of Hungary, who had returned to Apulia, received absolution before finally leaving Italy, where he had concluded an armistice with his enemies.[3] Petrarch

[1] In the fortress of S. Giorgio in Campania. *Annal. Rebd.*, p. 440; M. Villani, i. c. 87; *Vita di Cola*, ii. c. 1, 2, 3. The author narrates the cardinal's end with malicious satisfaction. He informs us that almost at the same time two of his nephews and the whole family also died. Petrarch addressed the Ep. i. lib. vi., *Rer. Fam.*, in which he scourges the avarice of the clergy, to Anibaldo.

[2] On September 14, 1350, the Pope appoints Rinaldo Orsini and Stefanello (son of the slain Stephen Colonna) for six months from the day on which John Orsini and Peter Jordani should retire. Theiner, ii. n. 201. They ratify the Statute of the Merchants on February 8, 1351.

[3] Joanna had made herself mistress of Naples as early as August 1348. After an indecisive war it was left to the Pope to pronounce sentence. His judgment being given in Joanna's favour, the King

also appeared in Rome for the fifth time. But he was no longer met by any of his friends belonging to the illustrious house of Colonna. He looked with grief on the deserted palace near SS. Apostoli and with humiliation on the Capitol, the scene of his coronation, the now abandoned stage where his ideal hero had shone with such splendour, only to descend so ignominiously. Where was Cola di Rienzo, the great Tribune, now? When inquisitive pilgrims asked for news of the man of whom rumour told such wondrous things, they were informed that he mourned as a hermit in the Abruzzi, or had crossed the sea to visit the grave of the Redeemer. Others spoke mysteriously of his having been seen in the city, which he roamed in disguise, as in former times had roamed Agapitus Colonna, who had been excommunicated by Boniface VIII. and whose unfortunate son Peter had fallen in the battle so fatal to the nobility.[1]

of Hungary magnanimously renounced every claim. Peace was concluded in April; the favourites of the Church, Lewis and Joanna, were absolved from every charge, and were crowned in Naples by the legates on May 27, 1352. M. Villani, ii. c. 24.

[1] The assumption of Zefirino Rè, that Cola was in Rome during the year of jubilee, is not supported by any fact.

2. DISTURBANCES IN ROME—CONSULTATION IN AVIGNON ON THE BEST CONSTITUTION FOR THE CITY — PETRARCH'S VIEWS—REVOLT OF THE ROMANS — JOHN CERRONI, DICTATOR — WAR AGAINST THE PREFECT — ORVIETO FALLS INTO HIS POWER — CERRONI FLIES FROM ROME—DEATH OF CLEMENT VI.—ACQUISITION OF AVIGNON — THE STATE OF THE CHURCH IN REBELLION — INNOCENT VI., POPE—EGIDIUS ALBORNOZ, LEGATE IN ITALY.

Scarcely was the year of jubilee ended when anarchy more frightful than ever broke over Rome. The government of the new Senators Peter Sciarra and Jordan, son of Poncellus, was devoid of energy. The nobles ignored every law, took brigands and bravos into their pay, and filled the city and country with deeds of crime. Jordan left the Capitol when one of his fortresses was attacked, and Luca Savelli seized the power, expelling Ponzio Perotto the papal vicar. There was no longer any government; the republic seemed at an end.[1] The Pope was bewildered. True that on November 2, 1351, he appointed the Counts Palatine Berthold Orsini and Peter, son of Jordan Colonna, to be Senators; but soon afterwards he gave permission to the Thirteen, whom the people in their distress had made regents, to order the government of the city according to

[1] The Senators, Peter and Jordan, ratified the Statute of the Merchants on February 27, 1351; nevertheless their appointment by the Pope is only dated March 17, 1351 (Theiner, ii. n. 208). This points to violent proceedings in Rome. M. Villani, ii. c. 47.

their pleasure.[1] The Romans were wearied of the dual government of the senators, who, being invariably chosen from the two factions, only aimed at the advantage of their parties. They had repeatedly desired as senators foreigners such as had frequently ruled in Rome since the time of Brancaleone.[2] Clement VI. lent a ready ear to their complaints; the questions, how to give a permanent constitution to the city, whether to overthrow the ancient system, or instead of Roman nobles to make foreigners senators, whether the Capitoline government should be an oligarchy or a democracy, were made subjects of strictest inquiry at Avignon. The Pope appointed a committee of four cardinals to decide on these questions of constitution. One of them asked advice of Petrarch, and the honorary citizen of Rome and friend of Cola gave his counsel in two letters, which may still be read. His principles had suffered no change by the fall of the Tribune; on the contrary, he recognised the source of evil in the fact that the authority was permanently exercised by the ruling families, and that the only remedy lay in the exclusion of the nobility from all

Petrarch's views concerning the civil constitution of Rome.

[1] Decree of November 2, 1351. Theiner, ii. n. 212. On November 23 the Pope wrote to the vicar and *dil. XIII. probis viris per dil. filios Populum Rom. super dicte Urbis negociis deputatis*, as above, and that they might administer the Senate for the interim (n. 215).

[2] In Prague Cola accused the Pope: *cum sepius ab eo fuerit pro parte pop. postulatum, quod Episcopali sue Civitati Romane ruenti de aliquo Rectore bono et extraneo tanq. Pater compatiens provideret, nunq. hoc voluit consentire, ymmo semp. contra populi postulata ponens gladium in manib. furiosi ipsos Romanos tyrannos constituere statuit supra populum senatores.* Document, p. xliv., Papencordt.

public offices, as was the case in Florence. He reminded his questioner of the wars between the patricians and plebeians in ancient Rome; and as the populace had then acquired the consulate, he now demanded a similar right for the Romans of his own time, and required that the Senate should be filled by men of the people. He advised the cardinals to give Rome democratic institutions. "Snatch," he said, "all this pestilential tyranny from the hands of the nobles; not only give the *Plebs Romana* a share of the public dignities, but deprive the unworthy Senators of the office which they have so badly administered; for were they themselves good men and Roman citizens, which they are not, they would not have more than half a right to its possession. Now, however, their actions are of such a nature that they are utterly unworthy not only of the chief magistracy, but also of the city, which they destroy, and of the society of citizens, whom they oppress."[1] Petrarch's views deserve serious

[1] Both letters *Ad quatuor Card. reformando urbane rei publ. statui deputatos*, November 18 and 24, 1351, in Papencordt, n. 29, 30. One of the cardinals was probably Niccolò Capocci; Petrarch flatters him by supposing that he was descended from the *gens Cornelia*; consequently he did not hold all nobles to be barbarians.—*Huc ne igitur vivendo decidimus — ut coram Christi vicario—queretur, liceatne Romanum civum in senatum eligi, cum tamdiu alienigenas regnare —in Capitolio videamus. . . . Respondere non dubitem, Romano more senatum Rom. nonnisi ex Romanis civib. constare et externos* (nobility) *a limine secludendos.* Both letters, which redound to Petrarch's honour as a patriot, are manifestos of the democratic principle which governed the cities at this time. . . . Petrarch, questioned as to the best constitution for Rome, resembles Rousseau, placed in a similar position with regard to the Corsicans and Poles.

attention. If he considered the Roman nobles in the light of foreign immigrants, he simply expressed the historic origin of feudalism and its antagonism to the Latin character. It was indeed a German institution, which had been transplanted by invasion to Latin soil. The struggle of Italian citizenship in the republics against the feudal nobility, who were almost all of German origin, consequently arose out of a native and national contradiction, and these democracies still traced their freedom from the ancient right of Roman citizenship. About the time of Petrarch the victory of the Latin principle over German feudalism was almost everywhere complete, and even now Italy is an absolutely democratic country, where the contrast between the nobles and the middle class is only faintly perceptible.

Encouraged by the favourable attitude of the Pope, the Romans resumed the struggle with the nobility and acted for themselves. Well-meaning citizens assembled in S. Maria Maggiore on December 26, 1351, and here resolved to bestow the authority on a respected plebeian of advanced years. They proceeded in a body to the house of Giovanni Cerroni and led him to the Capitol.[1] Luca Savelli fled from the Palace of the Senators; the bells summoned a parliament. The citizens came unarmed, the barons armed. With shouts the populace demanded Cerroni as rector of the city; he was immediately installed in the Capitol and invested

John Cerroni, Senator, Dec. 26, 1351.

[1] The Cerroni owned several houses and a palace with a tower in the *Rione de' Monti*: Adinolfi, *Roma n. e. di Mezzo*, ii. 107, 125.

with authority by the vicar in the name of the Pope. Thus was this revolution also carried through without bloodshed in a moment. Clement VI., entirely satisfied, congratulated the Romans and sent them 14,000 gold florins as a gift. He ratified Cerroni as Senator and Captain; he even prolonged his government until Christmas 1353. Never did the Romans stand in more friendly relation to the popes than when the latter were in distant Avignon.[1]

Quiet returned; Cerroni's government even recalled the early days of the Tribune, deprived, however, of the brilliant ideas and fantastic actions of Rienzo's rule. It was again the Prefect who refused homage and occasioned a Tuscan war, for after Cola's fall John of Vico had again made himself tyrant of Etruria. The Florentine auxiliaries, the troops of the Patrimony under the papal captain Nicola della Serra, and the arrière ban of the Romans under Jordan Orsini encamped before Viterbo. But they achieved nothing, and soon ingloriously dispersed, and as early as August 19, 1352, the tyrant of Vico made his entry into Orvieto, where the people conferred the signory on him for life.[2]

The Prefect of Vico becomes powerful.

[1] M. Villani, ii. c. 47. Brief of May 8, 1352 (Theiner, ii. n. 223). On May 17 the Pope entrusts the vicar and the XIII. with full power to elect a Senator in case of the premature death of Cerroni (n. 224). On May 22 he confirmed Cerroni as Captain of the People, praising him highly (n. 225). On March 30 the Statute of the Merchants is ratified by *Johes de Cerronibus dei Gra. Alme urbis Sen. ill.*

[2] On May 24, 1352, the Pope demanded aid from Florence against the Prefect. Theiner, ii. n. 226. On July 9 he excommunicated him, Francesco Ordelaffi, and the Manfredi (n. 229). Mat. Villani, iii. c. 18; *Chron. of Orvieto*, Mur., xvi. 671.

The failure shook the prestige of Giovanni Cerroni; he was surrounded by conspiracy. Luca Savelli, the Tribune's warmest friend, undermined his rule, and Cola's end awaited Cola's successor.[1] Wearied and discouraged, he explained to parliament in the beginning of September that the burthen of his office was intolerable. The declaration produced tumult and disturbance, and Cerroni consequently hurriedly fled from Rome. The aged plebeian was esteemed as one of the most upright of men, but he had no hesitation in carrying off the contents of the public treasury. Like Cola, he went to the Abruzzi, the asylum for bandits and saints; he there acquired a fortress in which he shut himself up.[2] The popular government thus fell for the second time. Under the proviso of the papal restriction, the Count Palatine Berthold Orsini and Stefanello Colonna were proclaimed Senators; the Pope, however, refused them recognition, and his vicar banished them as brigands from the State of the Church. The papal chair, moreover, fell vacant at this time.[3]

Cerroni flies from Rome.

[1] In August the populace demanded another Senator: see Account book of Angelo Tavernini, Treasurer in the Patrimony: *die X. Aug. solvi Johi de Montepesulano misso per d. Vicarium ad Rom. Curiam cum litteris suis D. Pape continentib., qual. Rom. Pop. non contentatur de Joh. Cerrone Senatore, cum male regat; et ideo dignetur D. N. P. de Senatore alio celeriter providere . . . pro suo viagio IX. flor.* (Theiner, ii. n. 377).

[2] According to M. Villani, iii. c. 33, besides other money, he took with him 6000 florins which the Pope had lent the Roman people on the security of the salt-works of the city.

[3] Berthold and Stephen ratify the Statute of the Merchants on October 10, 1352, as *ad urbis reginen per Rom. Pop. deputati ad beneplacit. D. N. Pape decreto et auct. sacri Senatus.* They were

Death of Clement VI., Dec. 6, 1352.

Clement VI. died at Avignon on December 6, 1352, after a ten years' pontificate of princely splendour, famed as a generous, prodigal lord, a lover of art and learning, but not enjoying the reputation of a saint. The magnificence of his court at Avignon, where he enlarged the papal palace by extensive buildings, was regal, as was his whole nature; but he filled the Curia with sensual vices, while the grand proportions of the Papacy shrank under the yoke of France. Clement VI. acquired Avignon for the popes. They had aspired to its possession in order to reign there as independent princes. This possession was the welcome fruit of the confusion which prevailed in the Neapolitan kingdom. The cardinals, who had to sit in judgment on Queen Joanna, whom the world believed guilty, were conquered by the eloquent tears and charms of the beautiful sinner and granted her absolution. They violated the duty of justice and fulfilled that of gratitude towards the memory of the queen's grandfather, the warmest friend that the Church had ever had. Joanna, however, before receiving final absolution, sold Avignon to the Pope on June 12, 1348, for the absurdly insignificant sum of 80,000 gold florins, and the sale may consequently be regarded as a gift of gratitude or a bribe given to the judge. The characterless queen, it is true, when securely seated on the throne of Naples, repeatedly protested against her own action;

The Pope acquires Avignon, June 12, 1348.

excommunicated by the Vicar Pontio, because they had seized the mortgaged salt-works for themselves. Letter of Innocent VI. to the vicar, May 25, 1353. Theiner, ii. n. 237.

saying that she had been led astray by her youth, by the weakness of her sex, and by various intrigues. Her successors made similar protests, but the popes remained in legal possession of Avignon.[1] Clement VI. was able to dwell as sovereign in his own city, and indeed he owned no other property that would have afforded him a secure retreat. He beheld the entire State of the Church in revolt before his death. The Pepoli in Bologna, the Manfredi in Faenza, Francesco Ordelaffi in Forli, Giovanni Gabrielli in Gubbio stood in arms, while the City Prefect was all powerful between Orvieto and Rome. Pepoli, cunningly taken in an ambuscade by the papal Count Astorgius da Duraforte, sold Bologna in his necessity and out of revenge to the Archbishop of Milan, the same John Visconti who had previously accepted the cardinal's purple from the anti-pope of John XXII. Lombardy and a great part of Piedmont obeyed the ambitious despot, and from Bologna (which on October 28, 1350, was garrisoned by his nephew Galeazzo in his name) he could now cast his longing gaze over Tuscany, especially as Clement VI. had been forced to transform his bull of excommunication into an investiture, and to sell

The State of the Church revolts against the Pope.

[1] On December 21, 1334, Robert had declared that Provence was inalienable property, and on February 19, 1348, Joanna had sworn before the parliament at Aix never to sell the smallest fraction of it. In 1350, 1365, and 1368 she protested against all her sales. Her successors did likewise, and after 1481 the French kings repeatedly claimed Avignon. See the Acts in *Recherches historiq. concernant les droits du Pape sur la ville et l'Etat d'Avignon*, 1768. The compiler of the *Vita II. Clem. VI.* (in Baluz., p. 271), speaking of this transaction, calls the Pope *circumspectus et providus velut Argus*.

the vicariate of Bologna to the Visconti for a yearly rent. This took place at Avignon on April 27, 1352.

So stood things in Italy and the State of the Church when the Cardinal of Ostia, Stephen d'Albret, a Limousin from Mont near Beyssac, ascended the sacred chair after his election in Avignon between December 18 and 30, 1352. Innocent VI. was again the reverse of his predecessor, a just and strong man of monastic disposition. He immediately purged the vicious Curia of its extravagant luxury, revoked many of the investitures conceded by his predecessor, sent the undisciplined prelates back to their sees, and reformed the administration of the Church. With great discrimination he selected an extraordinary man to tranquillise Italy and restore the papal rights in the Church, for on June 30, 1353, he appointed Cardinal Albornoz with full powers to be vicar-general in Italy and the State of the Church.[1]

Innocent VI., Pope, 1352–1362.

Egidius or Gil d'Albornoz, a Castilian grandee, had first served as a brave soldier under the banner of Alfonso of Castile, and had obtained honourable mention in the war with the Moors before Tarifa and Algesiras; afterwards, becoming a priest, he was made Archbishop of Toledo, and was the most highly esteemed prelate in the whole of Spain. Chivalrous energy and a fervent faith, which degenerated neither into weak pietism nor into fanati-

Gil d'Albornoz.

[1] Bulls of July 30, 1353, from Villanova. Theiner, ii. n. 242, 243.

cism, were united in the compatriot of S. Dominic. When, on the death of his father Alfonso, Pedro the Cruel ascended the throne, Egidius fled to Avignon, where Clement VI. received him with honour (December 18, 1350), made him Cardinal of S. Clemente, and soon after Bishop of the Sabina. His influence at the papal court was great, and his judgment decisive in favour of Innocent VI., one of whose electors he had been in the Conclave, and whose most faithful counsellor he now became. This was the man who was to tranquillise Italy, and to restore the State of the Church. But before accompanying him in his labours, we must return to Rome itself, where a revolution broke out shortly after the accession of the new Pope, when the interrupted work of Cola was resumed, and a new career was opened to the banished Tribune.

3. Popular Revolt in Rome—Murder of Berthold Orsini—Francesco Baroncelli, second Tribune of the People—Fortunes of Cola after his Flight — His Sojourn in the Abruzzi, his Mystic Dreams and Plans—Cola in Prague—His communications with Charles IV. — Petrarch and Charles IV.—Cola in Raudnitz; in Avignon—His Trial—Innocent VI. grants him an Amnesty—Cola accompanies Cardinal Albornoz to Italy.

Berthold Orsini and Stefanello Colonna, unratified by the Pope, ruled Rome amid continual disturbances. The dearth was great. The people

accused the Senators of having in their avarice allowed the inhabitants of Corneto to export grain. This Etruscan city was throughout the entire Middle Ages the granary of Rome, as Africa and Gaul had been in ancient times. In the market below the Capitol, where on February 15, 1353, the people assembled, the supply of corn was scanty and dear. The cry of revolt was raised: "The people, the people!" and the Senate house was immediately attacked. The youthful Stephen lowered himself from a window in disguise and escaped, but the haughty Count Palatine Berthold issued armed from the portal to mount his horse. He was received by a hail of stones; he tottered to the statue of the Virgin at the bottom of the stairs leading to the Capitol, and in a few minutes nothing was to be seen but a heap of stones, two ells in height, under which a dead Senator lay buried. After this event the people, says Matteo Villani with naïve calm, endured the famine much more patiently.[1]

The Senator Berthold Orsini stoned to death, Feb. 15, 1353.

The Romans were, for the rest, so terrified by their own action that they made no innovation. The factions again divided the Senate without resistance, for John Orsini and Peter Sciarra ascended the Capitol as Senators.[2] The historian's patience almost fails him in trying to depict these confused conditions.[3]

John Orsini and Peter Sciarra Senators.

[1] III. c. 57. *Allapidandolo come cane*, says the eye-witness, *Vita di Cola*, ii. c. 4.

[2] They ratified the Statute of the Merchants on March 14, 1353.

[3] M. Villani, iii. c. 78, says of the history of Rome at the time: *le novità che occorrono in quell' antica madre e donna del mondo non paiono degne di memoria per i lievi e vili movimenti di quella, tuttavia*



Nowhere anything but strife and warfare; the shout of "The people" and the party cries of "Orsini" and "Colonna" in every street. Luca Savelli assembled the followers of the Colonna and a number of the Orsini in order to drive the remainder of the family from Rome; the fortresses both inside and outside the city were attacked; in their despair the people thought of summoning the Prefect to Rome.[1] They now recalled with ardent longing the brilliant period of Cola's rule, and the cry for "a tribune" was again heard. In August the entire city was fortified. Orsini and Colonna fought at the barricades. As in May 1347, the better-minded citizens again united to work the fall of the nobility. A Roman, Francesco Baroncelli, formerly Cola's envoy in Florence, and now Secretary to the Senate, was chosen as saviour of the republic. The populace rose on September 14, 1353, drove the barons from the Capitol, and Baroncelli seized the dictatorial power, with the title of second Tribune.

Francesco Baroncelli, second Tribune, Sept. 14, 1353.

His government was a feeble imitation of Cola's. He also notified his elevation to the Florentines, and begged them to give him an accomplished jurist as counsellor.[2] He readjusted the State after the model

per antica reverenza di quel nome non perdoneremo ora alla nostra penna—and I shall do the same.

[1] In the letter of August 25, in which the Pope informs the Romans of the departure of Egidius as legate, he says that John of Vico had formed an alliance with the Roman nobles to reduce the remains of the city to ashes. Raynald, A.D. 1353, n. 4; Theiner, ii. n. 254, 255.

[2] The letter *in capitolio penult. Sep.*. bears the signature *Francischus de Baroncellis scriba Senatus dei gra. Alme Urbis Tribunus secund. et Ro. Consul. Ill.*; even in its phrases it is a weak copy of Cola's style. Archives, *Reform. Flor.*, lib. xvi. p. 95. Two other short letters to

of Florence, and at the same time caused the members of the Council to be elected by ballot. He exercised the strictest justice, ordered the finances, conceded amnesties, and ruled for some months with fortune and success.[1] But the Pope did not recognise him; what was more, the first Tribune was to drive the second from the Capitol.

Cola di Rienzo among the hermits.

Cola had led a strange life after his flight from Rome. He had retired to the fastnesses of Monte Majella, a majestic height in the Abruzzi near Rocca Morice and Sulmona. Here dwelt hermits belonging to the sect of the Fraticelli, the fanatic spiritual children of Celestine V., the genuine sons of S. Francis as they called themselves. They were steeped in mystic ecstasy, which the events of the time, pestilence, earthquakes, the disorganisation of Italy, the absence of the pope, and the Jubilee had served to heighten. The doctrine of the poverty of Christ, which had been condemned by the Church, was their dogma; the prophecies of Merlin, of Cyril, of Gilbert the Great, of the Abbot Joachim de Flore served as oracles for these saints, who regarded Avignon with horror, and expected the return of S.

Florence of October 7 and 15. Florence sent him Bencivieni Turino, and he accredited Peter Raynerii as envoy. He ratified the Statute of the *Arte della Lana* on October 9 (*Mscr. Chigi*, G. iii. 78), that of the Merchants on November 4. Villani, iii. c. 78, calls him *lo Schiavo Baroncelli*. I believe the Baroncelli to be the ancient family of Baruncii which is found as early as the beginning of *saec.* xii. (vol. iv.). A Baroncellus in A.D. 1204 (v. 44). In 1335 a notary Baroncellus de Baroncellis (Vendettini, *Serie*).

[1] Some of his edicts, like those of Cerroni, have been incorporated in the Statutes of the city. Editio princeps, A.D. 1471, lib. ii. n. 25, n. 133, n. 250.

Francis or of a Messiah to reform the degenerate Church, build a new Jerusalem, and realise the kingdom of the Holy Ghost. A bond of secret affinity brought the Candidate of the Holy Ghost among these mystics; the Tribune of the people was easily transformed into a theologian. Cola di Rienzo on Mount Majella in his fallen greatness resembled Celestine V., who after five months of splendour returned to the solitude of Murrone. He remained there two years, clad in a penitential garment, a genuine son of the Middle Ages, doing penance among anchorites for the sins of his splendid past.[1] A hermit, Fra Angelo, came to him one day, called him by name and gave him secret intelligence, according to which a saint elect of heaven was to achieve the restoration of the world. The monk designated Cola as the instrument and summoned him to fetch Charles, King of the Romans, to Rome to be crowned as emperor; for not only the Papacy but the Empire must be restored amid signs and wonders to the Eternal City, since forty years of exile had already passed.

Cola's mystic dreams.

The gifted dreamer and the mystic saint sat in the mountain solitude, steeped in profound meditation over the new age that was to dawn for the world, and the weather-beaten anchorite unfolded rolls of parchment which contained Merlin's prophecies. They clearly referred to Cola, his past, and his future career. He recognised the fact with rapture and be-

[1] In his letter to Charles IV. (Papencordt, Doc., n. 11), Cola says that he remained more than thirty months among the anchorites, whose life he describes.

lieved that his exile was merely the fore-ordained period of trial, and that he was still the envoy of the Holy Ghost, and called to the redemption of the world.[1] Profound ecclesiastical chimeras and political schemes mingled in his brain. The thought of again sitting on the Capitol as ruler of Rome, his purple-shod feet planted on the necks of barons, was veiled in a cloud of religious ideas, the fixed point in which remained, however, his return to Rome. He had proposed to himself to reappear in the city on September 15, 1350, to be made a knight of Jerusalem in S. Croce in Gerusalemme. But the world was not to witness this pompous spectacle. Cola's audacious projects were not utterly devoid of reason. Repudiated by the Pope, he now wished to approach the Emperor, and to try whether he could make any impression on him by his ideas of the monarchy. And between him and the Emperor the Spiritualists seemed to offer themselves as intercessors. It was their doctrine that had just lately allied itself with the Ghibelline principles in favour of Lewis the Bavarian and had made good the theories of the Roman imperium against the Pope. Fear of being surrendered, the intense confusion reigning in Naples, the insecurity of every other abode, and finally his own plans, induced Cola to cross the Alps in disguise and repair to the court of the King of the Romans, although he had cause to dread not only his wrath but that also of the princes of the empire.[2]

[1] In the same marvellous letter.

[2] Papencordt assumes that Cola passed through Rome, where he received the indulgence, but the passage in the letter to the Archbishop of Prague (Doc., 21) does not justify the assumption.

Had Lewis the Bavarian been living at the time, the Roman fugitive would have been certain of a favourable reception, but the Emperor who had received his crown from the people died on October 11, 1347, in consequence of a fall when hunting. Lewis was the last emperor who descended to the grave under the ban of the Church, and the last German king in whom the ancient tradition of the empire still survived. We might also call him its last victim, although unfortunately he did not close the ancient imperial struggle with a grandeur and steadfastness worthy of his predecessors.[1] Charles IV. now ruled undisputed in Germany, a man of strong Catholic convictions, of calm intellect and learned tastes, devoid of ambition and ideas, utterly unlike his grandfather. When Cola, with some companions, ventured to appear in Prague in July 1350, first in disguise and then openly, Charles was curious to see the Roman of whom the whole world had spoken and by whom he himself had been summoned to trial.[2] The ex-Tribune was received in audience; he preserved a calm demeanour and his confidence should have earned impunity and security.[3]

Death of Lewis the Bavarian, Oct. 11, 1347.

Cola di Rienzo before Charles IV. in Prague, July 1350.

[1] Schmidt, *Gesch. der Deutschen*, vii. c. 8. "Of the emperors who were excommunicated, he was the last, and at the same time the one who whined more abjectly and showed less spirit than any other in the circumstances." Lewis was handsome and affable, but devoid of character. He adopted the two-headed eagle in his coat of arms, following the example of Byzantium.

[2] There were several rumours concerning his first appearance in Prague. Pelzel, *Gesch. Carl's IV.*, i. 291; *Chron. Estense*, Mur., xv. 460.

[3] The *Vita*, ii. c. 11, places in his mouth a speech to Charles IV., which is very appropriate to the occasion.

The King repeatedly listened with surprise to his strange discourses, on one occasion in an assembly of clergy, and desired him to write down his ideas. The fugitive exhorted him to go to Rome, but instead of the means with which German kings had hitherto been induced to cross the Alps, Cola only offered him prophetic dreams. The ex-Tribune was the strangest emissary from Italy that had ever appeared before a king of the Romans. He had once charmed the Italians with the thought of national independence, and, in contradiction to Dante, had expressed contempt for the usurpation of the Roman empire by barbarians; he now excused the edict of August, asserting that he had never seriously intended to deprive the Germans of the empire, which had "lawfully become theirs." He professed Ghibelline principles, disputed the temporal claims of the Pope, declared that he wished to snatch the sword from the hands of the priests, and promised by his influence to open Italy to the German King, since no other Italian possessed sufficient power.[1]

He exhorts Charles IV. to undertake the journey to Rome.

He now represented himself as the forerunner of the Emperor, as John the Baptist had been the forerunner of Christ, and only desired to conduct the government of Rome as imperial vicar. As Dante had addressed the grandfather Henry VII., so Cola now addressed the grandson Charles IV.

An after-glow of the "exalted" Henry's ideal

[1] First letter to Charles, Prague, July (or August) 1350, in Papencordt, Doc., 11. Then the *Libellus Tribuni ad Caesar*, compiled somewhat later (Doc., 13) and the following letters to Archbishop Ernest. See *Epistolario*, n. 30 f.

dreams still rested upon Italy, but the circumspect grandson was not dazzled by it. The heretical opinions of the Tribune terrified the forefathers of Huss, Jerome of Prague, and Ziska; the King feared to irritate the Pope by allowing such a man to go free. He consequently ordered him to be imprisoned and informed the Pope of the fact; whereupon Innocent, with exaggerated expressions of thanks, directed the Archbishop of Prague to detain Cola in strictest custody.[1] The prisoner addressed to the King a curious justification, full of high-flown mysticism and imagery. He even invented the audacious fiction that he was the illegitimate son of Henry VII., who, during his sojourn in Rome, had visited his mother in disguise and honoured her with his embrace.[2]

Cola's imagination wove in his mind a curious web of inventive deceit and actual conviction. According to his or Fra Angelo's revelations, the Pope and several of the cardinals were to die; another S. Francis was to arise, and, in alliance with the Emperor, reform the universe and the Church, was to deprive the clergy of their wealth, and with the means thus provided build a sumptuous temple to the Holy Ghost, to which even Pagans from Egypt would resort in devotion. The new Pope would crown Charles IV. with the gold crown as Emperor, the Tribune with the silver as Duke of Rome; Pope, Emperor, and Tribune were to represent the Trinity on earth. Soon the cosmopolitan Cola saw himself

[1] On August 17, 1350. Theiner, ii. n. 200.
[2] *Libellus Tribuni ad Caesarem.*

in imagination ruler over the East, Charles IV. as ruler over the West. He drew up exhaustive letters to the Archbishop of Prague, Ernest of Pardubitz. They contain incontrovertible truths concerning the condition of Italy and Rome, the period of Cola's own rule, the bad government of the legates, the secularisation, avarice, and quarrelsomeness of the clergy, the imperial rights which had been usurped by the Pope; but they reveal also in equal degree the fantastic conceits of a diseased brain.[1] Neither Dante, Marsilius, nor William of Occam ever raised stronger protest against the pernicious blending of the two powers in the Pope than the imprisoned Cola did now. He accused him and the Curia to the Emperor, not only because they had left Rome, but because to their impotence, love of power and intrigues were due the dismemberment of Italy, its subjection to tyrants, and the disruption of the empire. The case which Cola put before the King was repeated at a later time by Macchiavelli. The Tribune in chains at Prague was more dangerous to the Papacy than he had been when at the height of his power on the Capitol. He now expressed, like the Monarchists, the necessity of mankind for a reformation, and this constitutes the serious importance of this extraordinary Roman, and secures him

Cola's Ghibelline ideas.

[1] These letters are given in Pelzel, vol. i., and in Papencordt. Cola spoke as strongly as Dante concerning the severance of the two powers. He said that the worst governed provinces were those which were ruled by priests. The Pope prevented the unity of the city and Italy, and fostered the division between Guelfs and Ghibellines. He sold cities to tyrants. The letter of August 15, 1350, to the Archbishop of Prague is an important manifesto of the time.

a place in history. But Charles IV. was not the man before whose tribunal such important questions could be decided.

The King and the Archbishop replied to Cola's letters, so great was the reverence for the name of Rome and so deep the impression made by the fame of the Tribune, whose talents and learning, astonished the Bohemian nobles. A feeling of humanism was already stirring in barbarous Prague. Charles had just founded the university there; there were learned men, or men eager for learning, at his court, such as the respected Archbishop Ernest, who had spent fourteen years in study in Italy, and John of Neumarkt, afterwards Charles's chancellor. Petrarch was held in honour, and his style and fashion of speech, nay, even those of Cola, were imitated.[1]

Charles IV. wrote to the ex-Tribune in a strongly Catholic spirit, blamed his errors and his attacks on the Pope and the clergy, declined with irony his offers and also the honour of his relationship, and exhorted him to repent of his vanity and renounce his "fantastic" dreams.[2] Several truths contained in Cola's justification had made an impression on the King. He wished to spare the life of this remarkable man and to save him from the stake, which appeared inevitably to await him at Avignon. In spite of the repeated demands of the Pope for his

[1] Concerning the interest in learning shown at this time in Prague, see H. Friedjung, *Kaiser Karl. IV. und sein Anteil am geistigen Leben seiner Zeit*, Vienna, 1876.

[2] Answer of Charles IV. in Papencordt, Doc., n. 14. . . . *hortamur ut dimittas fantastica.*

surrender, Charles detained him for an entire year in the fortress of Raudnitz on the Elbe. The ex-Tribune was always a piece in his hands which he could play against the Pope, if he himself should go to Italy to take the imperial crown. But Charles IV. had already received other invitations to Italy. The autonomy of the Guelf republics of Florence, Siena, and Perugia, the only cities which still resisted tyranny with manly independence, was every day increasingly menaced by the power of John Visconti. They despaired of rescue at the hands of the Pope, at whose court Milanese gold was irresistible. Florence turned in secret to Charles IV., and the bitter enemy of Henry VII. soon found herself obliged to summon his grandson to her aid.[1]

Nothing more clearly expresses the irony of the eternal fate which held Italy fixed within the same orbit than the first letter which the fêted Petrarch wrote on February 24, 1351, from Padua to Charles IV. The friend of Cola summoned the King as "the God-sent saviour and liberator" to come to Italy, the seat of the monarchy. He told him what Dante had told the grandfather and what Cola had explained to the grandson, that the arrival of the monarch had never been more ardently expected. Entirely like the Ghibellines, who did not regard the German-Roman emperor as a foreigner, Petrarch flatteringly told the Bohemian Charles, "the Germans may call thee theirs, we hold thee for an Italian; therefore hasten; thee alone do we summon, that

[1] These circumstances are dealt with by Conrad Palm, *Italienische Ereignisse in den ersten Jahren Carl's IV.*, Göttingen, 1873.

thy glance may shine on us like a star." He described aged Rome to the King in the now well-worn simile of a sorrowing widow with torn garments and dishevelled grey hair; he recalled to his memory the centuries of glory of the illustrious city and the depth of her fall, and showed him more especially that no one else was qualified by such favourable circumstances to become the saviour of Rome and of Italy; finally, he exhorted him by the example of his grandfather, whose glorious work, interrupted by death, ought to be completed by his grandson.[1]

Thus the two idealists, Petrarch and Cola, agreed in the same views, not only on the Capitol, but before the throne at Prague.

Meanwhile the liberator of Rome dwelt in the fortress of Raudnitz, suffering from the effects of a foreign climate and detained in strict though not inhuman custody.[2] His imprisonment in Bohemia, where his mystic enthusiasm found no response, sobered him; he may even have reproached himself with many follies; he alleged as an excuse his

[1] *Exhortatio ad transit. in Ital. Rer. Fam.*, x. Ep. i. 1, *celer. Roma sponsum sospitatorem suum vocat, Italia enim tuis pedibus tangi cupit. . . . VI. Kal. Martias Patavi.* This first letter of Petrarch to Charles IV. is attributed by Fracassetti to the year 1350, but Palm (p. 59) and Friedjung (p. 300) place it more correctly in 1351, a conclusion to which G. Voigt (*Die Wiederbeleb.*, i. 67) adheres.

[2] He once begs the Archbishop to allow him to light a fire; he suffered from vertigo, being accustomed to the climate of Italy. Doc., n. 22. He wrote letters to Rome, to the Abbot of S. Alessio, to the Chancellor of the city, to his son, to Fra Michele of S. Angelo. Appendix to Papencordt, and in the *Epistolario.*

difficult position in Rome, which forced him to wear many masks, sometimes that of simplicity, again that of enthusiasm, or of folly; to play the part of the comedian, the coward, the hypocrite. His mind, with its lack of ingenuousness, was easily convinced of this, and his extraordinary talent for discovering parallels caused him to compare himself to David dancing in his folly, to Brutus, to the disguised Judith, and to the cunning Jacob.[1] Cola had much to expiate, but his conscience was not burthened with any of the crimes which stained all the celebrated rulers and tyrants of the day. The enthusiast for liberty calmly awaited his sentence of death. On the strength of the minutes of trial sent from Avignon, the Archbishop announced in the cathedral of Prague that Cola was guilty of heresy and that Charles IV. must consequently surrender him to the papal plenipotentiary in July 1352.[2] The prisoner himself desired to be conducted to Avignon, where he would defend his Catholic faith before the Pope, and where he still hoped to discover friends. His demeanour in chains was more manly than on the Capitol; his letters of defence from Prague are his

[1] Doc. in Papencordt, p. xlix. Cola's ingenious character fascinated all who surrounded him: *faceva stordire quelli tedeschi, quelli boemi, quelli schiavoni; abbair fea ogni persona. Vita*, ii. c. 12.

[2] *Chron. Prag.*, ii. lib. iii. 317, in Dobner, *Mon. Histor. Boem.*, vi. On February 1, 1351, the Pope wrote to Charles IV. that he must not delay Cola's surrender. Theiner, ii. n. 204. On February 24, 1352, he commands the Bohemian prelates to publish the sentences (n. 217). On March 24 he writes to Charles to surrender Cola, who had been condemned as a heretic, to the nuncios (n. 218). These dates refute Papencordt's belief that Cola was given up in July 1351.

noblest monument, for they show a man of frank and steadfast ideas, convinced of his mission.[1]

On his journey to the papal court, the people everywhere flocked in crowds to behold the celebrated Roman. Knights offered to effect his rescue, as Luther's was effected in later times. When he appeared in the "Babel" of Avignon, on August 10, 1352, in miserable guise and between the bailiffs of the tribunal, he excited compassion throughout the whole city.[2] He asked for Petrarch. The poet was at Vaucluse. Not powerful enough to rescue his friend from the Inquisitors, he was sufficiently noble openly to lament his fate. If he was irritated at the weakness of his hero, and could not forgive the fact that he had not fallen with the greatness of an ancient Roman amid the ruins of freedom on the Capitol, he was still more indignant with the Curia, who wished to punish that which in the eyes of all noble-minded men must appear splendid virtue instead of a crime. He regretted the unworthy end of Cola's rule, but never ceased extolling its glorious beginning.[3] He regarded the Tribune as a martyr

Cola a prisoner in Avignon, 1352.

[1] See especially *Nicolai Tribuni Romani ad Guidonem Bolon. Cardin. Oratio*, Opp. Petrarch, ed. Basil., 1581, pp. 1123–1128.

[2] *Venit ad Curiam nuper—sed captivus ductus est Nicol. Laurentius, olim late formidatus tribun. urbis R., nunc omnium hominum miserrimus—ut aiunt, duob. hic illic stipatus satellitib. ibat infelix plebe obvia videndique avida faciem ejus, cujus modo tam clarum nomen audierat.* Petrarch to Francesco di Nello, Prior at Florence, Vaucluse, August 12, 1352, in Papencordt, Doc., n. 28. That Cola came to Avignon about August 10 is shown from *Arch. Vatican. Reg. Camer.*, 263, *ad A.* 1352, by Maurice Faucon (*École Fr. Mél.*, 1887, p. 56).

[3] *Qualiscunque sit finis, adhuc non possum principium non mirari. Ibid.*

to freedom, whose only fault in the sight of the Church was his high-minded scheme of redeeming his native country and restoring the splendour of the Roman republic. A tribunal of three cardinals was appointed to judge Cola. He was refused the assistance of counsel, but nevertheless a definitive judgment was not pronounced against him.[1] Meanwhile Petrarch exhorted the Romans to demand the surrender of their fellow citizen from the Pope. In his memorable letter, an eloquent justification of the Tribune's ideas, he maintained that the Roman empire belonged to the city of Rome, that although the imperial authority in the changes of fortune had actually passed into the hands of Spaniards, Africans, Greeks, Gauls, and Germans, it nevertheless remained lawfully bound to Rome, even if nothing were left of the illustrious city but the bare rock of the Capitol. He exhorted the Romans to demand Cola's deliverance by solemn embassy, "since," he said, "even if they dare to deprive you of the title of empire, arrogant folly has not risen to such a pitch that they can venture to deny that you possess a right over your own citizens. If in the eyes of all honourable men your Tribune deserves not punishment but reward, then can he receive it nowhere

Petrarch exhorts the Romans to release the Tribune.

[1] In his letter to the Romans of September 16, 1353 (Theiner, ii. n. 257), the Pope only mentions *aliquos processus contra eum* of the Cardinals Bertrand and Anibaldi. This contradicts the statement of Papencordt (p. 259), that Cola had been sentenced to death in Avignon. Since Cola came there in August 1352 (*venit nuper*, writes Petrarch on August 10), it is possible that the trial was not ended at the time of Clement VI.'s death on December 6.

more fittingly than in the place where he won it by his energetic deeds."[1]

The Romans, to whom the Tribune also wrote reproachful letters from Avignon, repeatedly desired Cola's return to the city.[2] Meanwhile his life was protected by public opinion, which spoke ever more loudly in his favour, by the fear which the Curia had of wounding it or the Romans too deeply, and probably also by the intercession of Charles IV., who apparently did not repeat all the aggravating statements of the prisoner. The admired liberator of Rome before the tribunal of cardinals awoke more compassion among mankind than Queen Joanna before the same college of judges. After the absolution of the royal sinner, the sight of the lofty-minded Roman at the stake would have evoked the deepest hostility. His death would have created a greater sensation than that of Arnold of Brescia in former days, and would inevitably have rekindled the dangerous attacks of the Monarchists on the Papacy. Cola's magnanimous ideas were undoubtedly his best allies in the public opinion of the time, and the fact that their spell was sufficient to open the prisons of Prague, Raudnitz, and Avignon, shows more than aught else the power exercised by the genius of this extraordinary man. It was rumoured that he owed his life to the report that he was a great poet, and that in Avignon, where every one wrote verses, they

[1] *Populo Romano*, Ep. iii., *sine titulo.*

[2] Cola's letters to the Roman people from Avignon (*Epistolario*, ed. Gabrielli, n. 47, 48). In his letter to the Romans of September 16 Innocent VI. says *quem tanto desiderio expetistis.*

could not endure the thought of quenching a God-given talent by the hand of the executioner. We do not know that Cola ever wrote verse, but his whole life was a poem, and although he had strayed into politics, he was himself the greatest poet of his time.[1] The nerves of the judges of the Inquisition have never indeed been shaken by aesthetic arguments, and in previous generations many a genius had been burnt at the stake. But the Pope, who had formerly been Cola's loyal protector, and who was a man of liberal disposition, did not desire his death, and the ex-Tribune remained in honourable custody, though with sentence of death hanging over his head. He consoled himself in his gloomy solitude with the books of Livy and Holy Writ, and would thus have passed the remainder of his life in the tower of Avignon or of Villeneuve, had the caprice of fate not suddenly brought him again into the light of day.

Clement VI. died and Innocent VI. ascended the sacred chair. Resolved to restore the State of the Church, the new Pope, as we have seen, confided the difficult task to Cardinal Albornoz. His glance also fell on Cola. The prisoner greeted the change on the throne as a turning-point in his own fortunes, and may therein have recognised the fulfilment of Fra Angelo's prophecies. His noble intellect, indefatigable in invention, immediately formulated new ideas; he now became a Guelf; he addressed suppli-

[1] In the letter to Franc. di Nello quoted above, Petrarch himself speaks of the rumour, but says that he had never seen any verses by Cola.

cations to the new Pope, and offered himself as his instrument to deliver Italy from all tyrants, and restore her natural unity under the authority of the sacred chair.[1] Innocent VI. believed that Cola could be of use to the Church; he absolved him from all its censures, gave him an amnesty, released him from prison, and handed him over to Cardinal Albornoz, that the cardinal might profit by his experience in Italian affairs and his influence over the Romans. Thus a great statesman and a gifted dreamer left Avignon for Italy to quell the tyrants.[2]

Cola di Rienzo accompanies Albornoz to Italy, 1353.

[1] In Cola's justification it must be said, that originally he had been of Guelf sympathies. Even in a letter to Charles IV. he had explained that the more practical expedient would be to unite Italy under the protection of the Pope rather than under that of the Emperor. Papencordt, p. 232, according to *Responsoria oratio Tribuni ad Caesarem super eloquio caritatis.*

[2] The cardinal went to Italy, accompanied by his nephew, Captain Gomez Albornoz, and by other relatives, Fernan Blasco and Garcia Albornoz. According to Faucon, *l. c.*, p. 58, Cola (to whom the Pope had given 200 florins for his journey) left Avignon with Albornoz on September 24, 1353. Since, however, the cardinal entered Florence on October 2, it follows that he must have started from Avignon much earlier. Werunski, *Ital. Polit. Inn. VI. und Carl's IV.*, p. 79, is probably right in placing Albornoz' departure from Avignon in the first half of August.

4. Albornoz comes to Italy; goes to Montefiascone —Fall of Baroncelli—Guido Jordani, Senator— Subjugation of the City Prefect — Albornoz wins success and respect — Cola in Perugia— Fra Monreale and his Brothers—Cola, Senator —His entry into Rome — His second term of Rule—His relations with the Nobility—War with Palestrina—Fra Monreale in Rome—His Execution—Cola as Tyrant—Gianni di Guccio— Fall of Cola di Rienzo on the Capitol.

John Visconti received the cardinal in Milan with honour but with proud reserve. Bologna closed her gates against him, but Florence admitted him on October 2, 1353, in solemn procession, to the sound of bells, and gave him troops and money. The legate went to Montefiascone, almost the only place in the State of the Church which still recognised the authority of the Pope. From this place Jordan Orsini, papal captain in the Patrimony, had already made war on the Prefect, and had employed against him Fra Monreale of Albarno, a Provençal and an errant prior of the Knights of S. John, who had served in Naples under the banner of the King of Hungary.[1] Dissatisfied with his pay, Monreale had then joined the camp of the Prefect and with him had attacked Todi. The cardinal entered Montefiascone precisely as the siege was raised. The

Albornoz as legate in Montefiascone.

[1] He appears in the service of the Church as *D. Frat. Monrealis capitan. guerre et vexilifer Eccl.* in June and August (Theiner, ii. p. 378); on September 4 in the service of the exiles from Todi (p. 379). His Provençal name is Montreal d'Aubagne.

retreat weakened John of Vico, from whom Monreale separated, in order to raise a company on his own account. It now fell to Albornoz to collect forces and overthrow the Prefect by a rapid blow. This could only be done with the aid of Rome, and here the influence of the ex-Tribune was all important.

Innocent VI. wrote to the Romans on September 16. He knew that they eagerly awaited Cola's return; he had amnestied their fellow-citizen and sent him to Rome, to heal, as he hoped, the wounds of the city, and to subdue its tyrants; the people ought, therefore, to accord him a good reception.[1] Nevertheless Cola dared not yet go to Rome; not only because the cardinal, in whose retinue he was, did not hold it fitting, but also because Francesco Baroncelli was still master of the city. The brief rule and the fall of the second Tribune are obscure, the historians of the period having scarcely thought him worthy of their attention. At open enmity with the Pope, Baroncelli strove to support himself by means of the Ghibelline parties and by an understanding with the Prefect. Owing to stress of circumstances, he fell into the errors or difficulties of his predecessor, and the appearance of this predecessor by the side of the legate in Montefiascone, whither many discontented Romans repaired,

[1] On September 15, 1353, he wrote to Hugo Harpaion, the nuncio in Rome, that he had set Cola at liberty (Raynald, *ad A.* 1353, n. 5). The letter of the 16th is given in Theiner, ii. n. 257. Even before Cola's arrival in Italy, Ponzio Perotto, Rector of the Patrimony in Tuscany, knew that he would come to Rome, for he asked Monreale in August, *si volebat esse executor Tribuni, in casu quo ascenderet ad regimen urbis.* Theiner, ii. p. 378.

Fall of Baroncelli in Rome, at the end of 1353.

hastened his fall. Baroncelli was driven from the Capitol in a revolt, of which Cola can hardly have been unaware, and apparently was even murdered, at the end of 1353.[1] The Romans now offered the signory to the cardinal for the Pope, whom they appointed Senator for life, with power of nominating his representative.[2] But they were deceived in their expectations, for Albornoz paid no regard to Cola, but made Guido Giordani de Patriciis Senator; neither did the Pope bestow a word on the former Tribune.[3]

Albornoz harasses the Prefect, John of Vico, June 1354.

After the subjugation of Rome the cardinal was able to prosecute the war against the Prefect with increased energy. The Romans furnished him with 10,000 men, under John Conti of Valmontone; the league of Florence, Siena, and Perugia united with

[1] Ameyden (MS. History of the Roman families, *Bibl. Minerva*) gives a spurious epitaph on Baroncelli, which is supposed to have been placed in Stefano del Trullo. As late as November 4, 1353, Baroncelli ratifies the Statute of the Merchants—the last date on which he is mentioned. A MS. *Hist. delli fatti di Fr. Baroncelli* of *saec.* xvii. is in the Chigiana. It is an imitation of the *Vita* of Cola; it has been used as authentic by Bzovius, A. 1353, i., but it is apocryphal, as Papencordt has already observed.

[2] M. Villani, iii. c. 91. The *Vita* of Cola is defective and contains no mention of Baroncelli. The Pope writes to Albornoz on March 21, 1354: *Pop. Rom. — dominium — Senatus, Capitaneatus . . . officia nobis ad vitam—noviter concesserunt.* Albornoz has permission to confer this office on suitable persons from Easter 1354, for six months. (Theiner, ii. n. 264.) On March 31 he summons the Romans to make war upon the Prefect. Baluz., *Miscell.*, ed. Mansi, vol. iii. 137.

[3] *Guido Jordani de Patriciis alme urb. Senator. ill. per S. R. E. constitutus* ratifies the Statute of the Merchants on March 21, 1354, and that of the *Arte della Lana* on July 11 (Chigi Archives, G. iii. 78). First mention of the Patrizi family.

the papal army, and John of Vico was driven to extremities. After severe losses and repeated negotiations, he made submission; he renounced his conquests at Montefiascone on June 5, 1354, and Albornoz was able to make his entry into Orvieto with the banished Monaldeschi on June 9. Here, as the powerful tyrant threw himself before the cardinal, swore obedience, and received absolution for the excommunications which three successive popes had hurled upon his head, Cola, looking on, may have dreamily remembered how he had formerly seen the same John of Vico at his own feet.[1] Albornoz allowed the tyrant to retain his hereditary property, and even made him vicar of the Church in Corneto; but the appointment was not ratified by the Pope. The Ghibellines of Orvieto, the small but liberal-minded city, where the cathedral already shone like a glittering shield on its lofty hill, unwillingly rendered submission to the Pope. The commune did homage to him and the cardinal on June 24, but only gave them dominion on condition that the city should recover its full liberty on the deaths of Innocent VI. and Albornoz.[2]

[1] *Chron. d'Orvieto*, Mur., xv. 679. Werunski gives a detailed account of the war against the Prefect in his *Ital. Polit. Innoc. VI. und König Carl's IV. in den Jahren* 1353–1354, Wien, 1878. For the treaties with the Prefect, see Theiner, ii. n. 267–269. The Prefect therein is only called *nobilis et potens vir Johes de Vico domicellus Viterbiensis.*

[2] *Chron. d'Orvieto*, p. 682. The deed, which the chronicler had before him, is absent from Theiner's *Cod. Dipl.*, which, on the other hand, contains the report of July 14, 1354, of the taking possession of Viterbo. The City Archives of Orvieto contain several parchments of the time of John of Vico, who there calls himself *Illustris civitatis*

He renders several provinces subject to the Church.

The success of the legate changed the conditions of Italy in favour of the Church. Umbria, the Sabina, Tuscany, Rome, obeyed her; the exiled Guelfs everywhere returned, while the wise cardinal allowed the communes to be governed by popular institutions under consuls and podestàs. Viterbo again received a papal garrison, and Albornoz built a strong fortress there. The tyrants of the Romagna feared him, and Italy resounded with the fame of a cardinal who delivered the cities from their despots, and united in himself all the qualifications of a general and statesman, which, had they been given to the Tribune Cola, would have made him the man of the century.

The Romans who had served in the army before Viterbo and Orvieto, had sought out Cola, greeted him with joy, invited him to Rome, and requested that the cardinal would appoint him Senator. With Albornoz' sanction he went to Perugia. Here he strove to induce the citizens to furnish him with money. The wealthy merchants hesitated, but instead turned to the Pope, asking that Cola should be allowed to return to the city; and Innocent VI. finally charged Albornoz to appoint him Senator, if he considered it desirable.[1] The cardinal left it to

comitatus ac districtus Urbis veteris liberator et dom. generalis. We see how tyrant conquerors already possessed the art of confusing the meanings of terms. There are also several parchments belonging to the time of Albornoz in Orvieto; I found this valuable material in irremediable condition, crammed together like rags into chests.

[1] On March 26, 1354, the Pope wrote to the inhabitants of Perugia, that he granted their request in regard to Cola. On the same day he

Cola to procure money and troops, and the ex-Tribune found means of doing so. He knew that in the banks of Perugia lay large sums, which the dreaded Monreale had extorted from the cities of Italy, and he reckoned upon them. After his separation from the Prefect, the Prior of S. John had formed a band of his own, and hungry mercenaries, Burgundians, Italians, Hungarians, Germans, but more especially Swiss, had eagerly followed his recruiting drum. From this swarm he had formed on Werner's model, "the Great Company," a nomad brigand state of some thousand splendidly equipped soldiers, on horseback and on foot. By means of gold and promises, Albornoz had secured that Fra Monreale should form no further alliance with the Prefect, and was well pleased when the robber-knight led his troops into Tuscany and the March. Fermo, Perugia, even Florence, Siena, Arezzo, and Pisa, had shamefully purchased indemnity from siege and sack. In July 1354 Monreale had lent his company to the Venetians for 150,000 gold florins in order to serve against the Visconti. They were commanded by his lieutenant, the Count of Landau. He himself remained behind, meditating how to obtain permanent dominion in Italy. Two of his brothers dwelt in Perugia, the Knight Brettone of Narba, and Arimbald, Doctor of Law. The ex-Tribune fired the brains of the young Provençals with pictures of his future deeds in Rome, of the splendour of the restored republic, and the honours

He forms an alliance with Monreale's brothers.

wrote to Albornoz. Theiner, ii. n. 298, 299, where both letters are wrongly placed in the year 1355.

that awaited them if they furthered his undertaking.[1] They lent him several thousand gold florins, and informed their brother of the fact. Fra Monreale gave his consent not without reluctance, but promised his support in case Cola's scheme failed. The fortunate ex-Tribune now acquired a few hundred mercenaries, Italians, Burgundians, and Germans.[2] He again donned a scarlet robe, and went to Montefiascone to the legate, who, in the name of the Pope, made him Senator of Rome, and wished him a prosperous journey.

Cola's progress to Rome.

Cola's march through Tuscany, at the head of five hundred lansquenets of various nations, and surrounded by adventurers, who mentally saw themselves seated as Roman consuls on the Capitol, is a perfect parody of an imperial progress to Rome. On his arrival at Orte, on the Tiber, the report was spread of his approach, and Rome erected triumphal arches. Recollections and dreams revived on the instant. The cavalerotti, bearing olive branches, came to meet Cola at Monte Mario; the people streamed from the gates to greet their former deliverer, and to see the extraordinary man who had quitted the Capitol seven years before, and had since suffered such strange fortunes as a fugitive

[1] Here Cola reminds us of King Theodore of Corsica.

[2] *Vita*, ii. c. 15: a valuable picture of the customs of the life of mercenaries of those days. The Germans at first regarded the undertaking as uncertain, and the chronicler says: *sono li tedeschi come discendon dall' Alemagna, semplici, puri, senza fraude; come si allocano fra italiani, diventano mastri coduti, vizziosi, che sentano ogni malizia.* Papencordt quotes the proverb which still holds good: *Tedesco italianizzato diavolo incarnato.*

and excommunicate, as a hermit, a prisoner in distant Prague and in Avignon, under the Emperor and Pope, and who now returned with honour as Senator in the name of the Church. Not even Conradin on Monte Mario had been received with like rejoicings. On August 1, 1354, the anniversary of his knighthood, Cola advanced through the gate of the fortress across the bridge of S. Angelo into the city, gaily decorated with draperies and flowers, through the densely packed streets, the houses of which were thronged to the very roof with rejoicing crowds. He was received with honour at the steps of the Capitol by the magistrates, and Guido, who had hitherto been Senator, handed him over the sceptre of government.[1] Cola made a clever speech to the people, in which he compared himself to Nebuchadnezzar, who had remained exiled and insane for seven years; the Romans applauded him, but found their hero greatly altered. Instead of the Elected of the people, the youthful Tribune of Liberty, a middle-aged corpulent official of the French Pope stood before them, nor had experience either strengthened his will or enlightened his intellect.

His entry into Rome, Aug. 1, 1354.

He organised his government; he created the brothers Brettone and Arimbald captains of the Militia, and entrusted them with the banner of

Cola, Senator of Rome, in the name of the Pope.

[1] Albornoz, writing to the Pope from Viterbo on August 5, tells him that Guido dell' Isola had been Senator up to this time. Fragment in Papencordt, Doc., n. 33. Guido de Insula can be no other than the above named Guido Jordani de Patriciis. The Insula is the Island in the Tiber.

Rome; Cecco of Perugia was made a knight and his counsellor. He informed all cities far and near of his return and elevation; but his letters and brain lacked their former verve, and betrayed none of that exaltation of thought with which he had formerly charmed the Italians. The ideas of the papal Senator remained restricted to the narrow limits of the city government.[1] If the populace greeted Cola's return with joy, the aristocrats held aloof in indignation. They were still headed by the Orsini of Marino and Stefanello in Palestrina, the last member of that branch of the Colonna. On August 5, Cola invited the nobility to do homage on the Capitol, but except the Orsini of S. Angelo, his former friends, scarcely any appeared. Stefanello replied to the invitation by maltreating the envoys Buccio di Giubileo and Gianni Caffarello, and by extending his raids to the very gates of Rome.[2] Thus were the ancient conditions restored, and after seven years of absence, Cola resumed his government at the very point where it had been interrupted, as if nothing had happened meanwhile.

He besieges Palestrina.

He proceeded against Palestrina with a military force, to repair his former negligence and finally to destroy this stronghold of the aristocrats. His troops impatiently demanded their pay, which was in arrears. "I find in ancient histories," said the

[1] Cola's letter to Florence, August 5, 1354. The republic answered in a short official letter, congratulating him and exhorting him to maintain a wise and just government, August 22, Doc., n. 34, 35, in Papencordt.

[2] The mediaeval castle on the site of the ancient Fidenae derives its name from the Giubileo family.

Senator, who was never at a loss for a word, to his captains, "that in similar financial difficulties the consul assembled the barons of Rome and said, 'We who fill the offices of honour should be the first to give money to pay the soldiers.'" Fra Monreale's young brothers each gave 500 gold florins with a sigh, and the troops were paid what was absolutely necessary. The arrière-ban of the Campagna and 1000 Romans now advanced under Cola from Castiglione di S. Prassede, where Gabii had formerly stood, against Palestrina. The army, however, served with reluctance; there were daily quarrels, and traitors were not lacking. The country and the lower city were laid waste, but the Cyclopean fortress defied siege, and abundant supplies were carried in before the eyes of the worst of all generals.

The sudden arrival of Fra Monreale summoned Cola back to Rome in August. He might with advantage have made use of the talents of this celebrated captain, but such was not his intention, nor did the Prior of S. John contemplate offering him his sword. On the contrary, the great brigand had come to Rome with forty of his captains from Perugia, which he had captured with honour, on account of his brothers, who had lent the Senator large sums and had received nothing in return. He foresaw the speedy fall of the fanatic, and wished to see what he could gain for himself. Apparently, like a later leader of mercenaries from the same Perugia, Monreale had formed the bold idea on the return of his Great Company of setting up as

Signor in Rome, which was without a head. He spoke unguardedly and contemptuously of Cola; it was rumoured that he had been summoned by the Colonna to work the Senator's fall. The Senator sent him a friendly invitation to the Capitol, the usual trap for the unsuspicious, and scarcely had Monreale appeared, when he and his captains were loaded with chains and he was thrown into the Capitoline dungeon beside his brothers. Cola brought him to trial as a public robber, who had filled Italy with unspeakable misery; but in reality his object was to seize the wealth of the prior, which he required for his own maintenance. Monreale's trial, his conduct in prison, the final scene, ending with his death, form a remarkable chapter in Cola's biography, and are so vividly described that the reader feels all the excitement of an eye-witness. The dreaded soldier of fortune betrayed no trace of repentance for his crimes, which, according to the spirit of the age, he esteemed as the glorious deeds of a warrior, justified in carving a career for himself with the sword through the false and miserable world. He only took shame for having been entrapped in the snare of a fool, and his pride as a knight shrank from the humiliation of torture or an ignominious death. He spoke of the worthlessness of life like a Cato or a Seneca. He looked with contempt on the Romans, who had collected on the piazza of the Capitol at the sound of the death-bell, and proudly recollected that people and cities had trembled before him. "Romans," said the blood-stained robber, "I die unjustly; your

poverty and my wealth are responsible for my death. I wished to save your city from ruin." He was led to the staircase of the Palace of the Senators. The cage of the lions and an image of the Virgin stood there, where wretched criminals heard their sentence before execution.[1] He was magnificently dressed in brown velvet embroidered with gold; he breathed freely when he was told that he was to die by the sword. He knelt and rose several times before the block, the better to adjust his position. His surgeon showed the executioner the place to strike, and the head of Monreale fell at one blow. He was buried by the Minorites (it was August 29) in Aracoeli, where under some nameless stone lie the remains of this dreaded soldier, whose fame was such that contemporaries likened him to Caesar.[2]

Execution of Monreale on the Capitol, Aug. 29, 1354.

A sinner had met with his just fate; his crimes, devastation of lands, the burning and sack of cities, the deaths of unnumbered men had deserved this disgraceful end, brought about by disgraceful treachery. Cola had formerly shrunk from taking the life of aristocrats, who had been deceitfully entrapped; he had now found a tyrant's courage to behead a Monreale, and according to the judgment of contemporaries his action was as praiseworthy as if it had been dictated by feelings of justice. But the baseness of his motives showed it in the light of

[1] *Vita*, c. ii. 22.

[2] Thus the *Vita*. More appropriately Innocent VI. compares him with Holofernes, and inappropriately with the noble Totila: *quasi alter Holofernes—ut impium illum et flagellum Dei Totilam in Christiano populo debachantem—superarit.* Avignon, October 20, 1354, to Raymond, Internunzio in Venice. Raynald, n. 4.

cowardly treachery towards Monreale's brothers, his own benefactors. He seized the wealth which the Knight of S. John had brought with him, or had previously deposited in Rome; it amounted to 100,000 gold florins, with which he was enabled to pay the troops.[1] Cola henceforward became a hated tyrant. The nobles avoided him as a traitor to his friends. The Pope and Albornoz, however, were content that the terrible scourge of Italy had been removed. On September 9, Innocent wrote to the cardinal, that for the welfare of the city and Italy, and in order that Cola's activity should not be relaxed, he held it necessary that he should prolong his senatorial power. He exhorted Cola himself to gratitude towards God, who had raised him from a lowly position to such a height, who had so mercifully saved him from many dangers, and urged him to exercise his office in humble knowledge of himself with compassion towards the weak, with severity towards the wicked.[2]

[1] The Pope ordered Monreale's treasures to be sequestrated in order to indemnify the people he had robbed. He had 60,000 gold florins taken from the banks of Padua. With the same pretext, the Florentines sequestrated the deposits in the banks of Perugia. Albornoz demanded the surrender of Arimbald; Brettone remained in prison.

[2] Theiner, ii. 273, 274. The second letter is beautiful and worthy of a priest. *Deus te multis dotavit abunde virtutibus: Ipse te humili loco natum multis preesse majoribus benigne concessit — castigans castigavit te—cum beato Augustino deum, ut ipsum et te noveris, supplex ores. Dat. ap. Villamnovam III. Id. Sept. An. II.* On September 16, 1354, Cola issued a privilegium of immunity for the hospital of S. Spirito; in this occurs the style *de mandato excell. viri dom. Nicolai p. R. militis per sed. ap. alme Urbis Senatoris illustris*

Cola raised new troops, made Riccardo Imprendente of the house of Anibaldi, Lord of Monte Compatri, his captain-general, and caused Palestrina to be again invested. All went well. The Colonna were reduced to extremities, and their fall seemed certain. Had Cola acted with moderation, he would probably have ruled for years as Senator, but the demon of ambition and want of money drove him to dangerous measures. He imposed a tax on articles of consumption. In his tyrannical jealousy he caused (and this was his most wicked deed) a noble and beloved citizen, Pandolfuccio, son of Guido, formerly his envoy in Florence, to be beheaded. He seized now one man, now another, and sold them their freedom for the sake of the ransom. No one dared any longer open his mouth in council. Cola himself was unnaturally excited. He laughed and wept at the same moment. The temper of the people showed him that a conspiracy was formed against his life. He raised a bodyguard, fifty men from each region, to be at hand at the first summons of the bell. The army before Palestrina demanded pay, and murmured that it had not received it; in his distrust he deposed Imprendente and appointed new captains. This conduct estranged Imprendente also, and his followers. It must have been at this juncture that a man who afterwards became famous in Europe appeared before Cola, Gianni di Guccio, a spurious French prince and a pretender to the crown of France, whose fortunes constitute one of

Cola's tyrannical rule.

capitanei syndici et defensoris (*Statuti delle gabelle di Roma*, ed. Sig. Malatesta, Rome, 1885, p. 122).

the most remarkable romances of the Middle Ages, and are interwoven with Cola's last days. When Gianni, whose cause the Senator seems to have espoused, took leave of him on October 4, to bear his letter of introduction to the legate at Montefiascone, he was warned at the Porta del Popolo by a Siennese soldier to get away quickly, for the Senator's life was in danger. The spurious prince immediately returned to inform Cola, who dismissed him with letters in which he conjured Albornoz to send him aid, for a storm threatened to break over him. The cardinal forthwith ordered the cavalry to horse, but it was already too late. Such at least is the tradition, although no contemporary document exists to confirm the statement.[1]

On October 8 Cola was wakened by the cry, "Popolo, Popolo!" The regions of S. Angelo, Ripa, Colonna, and Trevi, where the Savelli and Colonna dwelt, hurried to the Capitol. Its bell was silent. Cola at first did not recognise the importance of the revolt, but when he heard the cry, "Death to the traitor who has imposed the taxes," he understood the danger. He called his people to him; they fled; judges, notaries, guards, friends, all sought safety in flight; only two persons and his kinsman Luciolo, a furrier, remained with him. Fully armed, the banner

[1] The adventures of Gianni, the reputed posthumous son of Lewis X. (the King died in 1316), I pass by as a romantic episode which does not concern Rome. He ended his career in a prison in Provence in 1362; his descendants were still living as heirs of the Giannino in Siena in 1530. See Papencordt at the end of his history of Cola. I cannot recognise as genuine Cola's document of October 4 (n. 36).

of Rome in his hand, Cola stepped on to the balcony of the upper hall of the palace to address the people.[1] He made a sign for silence; the people cried him down, in fear of the spell of his voice. Stones and missiles were thrown at him; an arrow pierced his hand. He unfolded the banner of Rome, and pointed silently to the gold letters, "*Senatus populusque Romanus*," that they might speak for him—a trait of true greatness, the finest perhaps in the life of the Tribune. He was answered with the shout, "Death to the Traitor!" While the populace set fire to the wooden fortifications, which surrounded the palace like palisades, and strove to enter, Cola let himself down from the hall into the court under the prison.[2] Luciolo from above made treacherous signals to the people.[3] All was not yet lost; the hall was in flames, the staircase fell in, the assailants consequently could not easily force their way inside; the forces of the Regola might have had time to come up, and the temper of the people might have changed. The first door was on fire, the roof of the loggia fell in. Had Cola with high courage but

[1] *Si affacciò alli balconi della sala di sopra maggiore.* This, the highest room, in which the Senator dwelt, had three balconies looking on to the *Piazza di Mercato.* Camillo Rè, "Il Campidoglio," &c. (*Bull. d. Comm. Arch.*, x. 107).

[2] This mediaeval prison (*Cancellaria*) had been built in the ruins of the Tabularium and is still to be seen there. It served as a salt magazine in the fifteenth century.

[3] *Locciolo lo uccise, Locciolo Pellicciaro confuse la libertà del popolo, il quale mai non trovò capo, e solo per quell' uomo potea trovare libertade:* thus exclaims the author of the *Vita* here, still believing in the mission of his hero. The account of M. Villani, iv. 26, agrees with the *Vita* in its main features.

stepped among the raging multitude to receive death at the hands of his Romans on the Capitol, he would have ended his life in a manner worthy of an ancient hero. The piteous way in which he staggered out of the Capitol shamed even his contemporaries as even now it shames every one possessed of manly feeling. The Tribune threw aside his armour and official dress, cut off his beard and blackened his face; he put on a shepherd's cloak, placed a pillow on his head, and thus hoped to steal through the crowd.[1] To all whom he met he shouted in a feigned voice, "Up! at the traitor." As he reached the last gate one of the people laid hold of him, saying, "This is the Tribune!" His gold bracelets betrayed him. He was led to the steps of the palace below the lion's cage and the image of the Madonna, where the Senator Berthold had formerly been stoned, and where Fra Monreale, Pandolfuccio, and others had received their death sentence. There stood the Tribune surrounded by the people. All were silent. None ventured to lay hands on the man who had formerly delivered Rome, and moved the world to admiration. His arms crossed on his breast, he looked about him and was silent.[2] Cecco

End and death of Cola di Rienzo, Oct. 8, 1354.

[1] *Dolore è a ricordarsene!* exclaims the author of the *Vita*, ashamed. Read his magnificent last chapter, where he recalls the aged Papirius, who smote a Gaul with his staff, because he had plucked him disrespectfully by the beard: *Lo buono romano non volse morire con la coltre in capo, come Cola di Rienzo morio.*

[2] The *Vita* says that he thus stood for an hour, but this we can scarcely believe. It describes his disfigurement; he still had some pieces of his splendid dress of grey silk with gold trimmings, and purple stockings *a modo di barone.*

del Vecchio thrust his sword into his body. The mangled and headless corpse was dragged from the Capitol to the Colonna quarter, and was hanged outside a house close to S. Marcello. Two days the appalling figure remained; once in life the idol of Rome, now the target for the stones of street boys. By command of Jugurtha and Sciarretta Colonna, the remains of the Tribunus Augustus were burnt by Jews on the third day, on a heap of dry thistles in the Mausoleum of Augustus. The scene of the last act of this curious tragedy had been specially chosen in mockery of Cola's pompous ideas concerning antiquity. His ashes were scattered like those of Arnold of Brescia.[1]

The long series of men who, dominated by the spell of the Eternal City and by the dogma of the Roman monarchy, fought for the restoration of a past ideal, closes with Cola di Rienzo. The history of the city has shown the connected succession of these men and the ideas of the time have explained the necessity for the existence of the last Tribune. On the confines of two ages, in the excitement of the dawn which preceded the renascence of classic antiquity, Cola di Rienzo stands as the historic offspring of the antagonism of Rome to herself and to the time, a contradiction which drove him insane.

[1] The author of the *Vita* describes the scene with terrible truthfulness, as an eye-witness. *Là (al campo dell' Austa) si adunarono tutti li giudei in grande moltitudine—era grasso—ardeva volentieri—fu ridotto in polvere, e non ne rimase cica.* Cola was burnt as a heretic by the despised Jews, for so the Colonna willed it. The fiction that Cola's ashes were buried in S. Bonosa has been refuted by Domenica Tordi, *la pretesa tomba di Cola di Rienzo*, Rome, 1887.

His fellow sinners are in fact Rome, Dante, Petrarch, Henry VII., the Emperors, the Popes in Avignon, and the century itself.[1] His fantastic scheme of once more gathering the peoples in the absence of the pope round the ancient Capitol, and of re-erecting the Latin empire of the world, awoke for a moment the enthusiastic belief in the idea of universal Roman citizenship. It was also the farewell of mankind to these ancient traditions. A life-giving reality took the place of this delusion: the spirit which, by means of Romano-Greek learning and art, effected its own deliverance from mediaevalism. Herein lies the serious importance of the friendship between Petrarch and Cola di Rienzo. The former awoke classic antiquity in the intellectual kingdom after its restoration in the political sphere had vanished with Rienzo as a dream. In the world of history as in that of nature there are mirages from distant zones of the past; such and the most curious of all was the appearance of the Tribune of the people. The combination of thoughtfulness and folly, of truth and falsehood, of knowledge and ignorance of the time, of grandeur of imagination and pusillanimity in action makes Cola di Rienzo, the heroic player in the tattered purple of antiquity, the true representative and image of Rome in her deepest decay. His

[1] The phenomenon of Cola di Rienzo is, more than that of any other character in history, to be explained essentially by the creative poetic force which every age possesses in its imagination. He is in any case the living form which the Roman imagination necessarily brought into being. The reading of the *Divina Commedia* contributed in great measure to produce the intellectual temper of this strange age.

story has endowed forsaken Rome with an imperishable glamour of fantastic poetry, and his successes appeared so enigmatical that they were ascribed to the aid of a demon. Even Raynaldus, the annalist of the Church, believed in the diabolical arts of the Tribune, but every intelligent person who believes in the power of ideas among men, is able by that power to explain Cola's influence.[1] His personality was sufficient to draw the first men of the time within its spell. The Pope himself and the Emperor, kings, populace, cities and Rome all fell under his magic charm. The fascination by which some men take the world captive is due to the fact that they understand the mystic secret of the age. A dark delusion cannot of itself exert this fascination. There must be concealed within it some real thought, which suddenly shines forth and, striking on a receptive mind, awakes enthusiasm, which again perforce shrouds itself in the old delusion.

The time in which Cola di Rienzo appeared was filled with the fervent desire of liberty and the hope of a Messiah, and bore the germ of a new spirit in its bosom. No wonder that Italy held the gifted

[1] Petrarch speaks of Cola's good demon, and the populace believed that he held the spirit Fiorone enclosed in a steel mirror, adorned with engraved characters. After his death this mirror was found with a proscription list of citizens who were to be laid under contribution. (*Vita*, ii. c. 24.) Etruscan mirrors were greatly used in *saec.* xiii. From the word *Phleres* engraved upon them, *Florus*, *Fiore*, and *Fiorone* may (as Orioli supposes) have arisen. See Zefirino Rè's note to this chapter of the *Vita*. Raynald quite seriously calls Cola *magorum et daemonum societate inquinatus* and believes in the existence of the spirit Fiorone. (*Ad a.* 1347, n. xiii.)

Roman for her hero and saviour, when he boldly unfolded his flag on the Capitol. He was indeed the prophet of the Latin renascence.

The strange appearance of Cola has such distant perspectives both in the past and the future, and presents such stern traits of tragic necessity, that it offers more material for the contemplation of the philosopher than the long and noisy reigns of a hundred kings. His magnificent ideas of the independence and unity of Italy, of the reform of the Church and of the human race, are sufficient to outshine his political follies and to save his memory from obscurity.[1] No century will ever forget that the plebeian, crowned with flowers on the ruins of Rome, was the first to shed a ray of freedom on the darkness of his time, and, with prophetic glance, to show his native country the goal which she was not to attain until five hundred years had passed.[2]

[1] Soon after Cola's death an anonymous author bewailed his fall in two letters, which he represented as the products of Cola's own pen; they are outpourings of the heart of a classic scholar belonging to the school of Petrarch and are full of poetic fire. *Nunquam stygias fertur ad umbras inclyta virtus.* They are at the same time invectives against the fickle Romans. These letters can scarcely have been known to Lord Byron when he dedicated his beautiful verses to Cola's memory. Baluz., *Miscell.*, iii. 136, ed. Mansi.

[2] As I have shown, Cola's political programme concerning the national unity of Italy was as follows: A confederation, with Rome for its head, under a Latin emperor elected by the people. He afterwards returned to the Guelf idea: an Italian confederation under the protectorate of the pope—this was still the senseless project of the Peace of Zurich in 1859.



3. 19

